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NOTES ON THE METRE OF THE POEM OF THE CID

(Continued from page 30)

WE saw in the preceding article¹ that Menéndez y Pelayo expressed the opinion that the romance-metre, instead of being a more or less direct descendant of the trochaic tetrameter of Latin poetry,² was preceded by another heroic verse of unknown structure. In his desire to account for this hypothetical measure, the eminent Spanish critic propounded a second theory³ which, though practically refuted by the considerations already presented,⁴ must be examined here somewhat in detail because it has recently been adopted, and made the point of departure for other hypotheses on the epic verse of Castile, by so learned an investigator as Federico Hanssen.⁵

Here are the words of Menéndez y Pelayo:

"Para que este hórrido y bárbaro metro se convirtiese en octonario, fué menester un trabajo de selección que eliminó los alexandrinos y los endecasílabos de cesura en la quinta; y en esta depuración, es claro que el principal, aunque misterioso agente, fué el genio de la lengua, más inclinada que ninguna de sus hermanas á las combinaciones trocaicas; pero no pudo ser indiferente la existencia de un tipo métrico análogo, sino idéntico, y que había sido empleado en poesías realmente populares, aunque no narrativas,

¹ ROMANIC REVIEW, 5, p. 23. (This article will henceforth be referred to by I.)

² Nevertheless, the same writer fully admits (*Antol.* II, pp. 119-127) the use of this metre in Spain, and the historical relationship of Neo-Latin prosody with Roman versification.

³ *Antol.* II, p. 127, and cf. *l. c.*, pp. 99-100.

⁴ See I, pp. 19-30.

⁵ *Notas al Poema del Cid*, Santiago de Chile, 1911, pp. 26-33.

sino líricos. El metro épico no nació del tetrametro, como en Francia no nació del senario yámbico, pero se regularizó con su ejemplo."

This view is endorsed by Hanssen in the following terms:

Creo que la teoría espuesta por Menéndez acierta a la verdad, aunque envuelve dos suposiciones que, a primera vista, parecen inaceptables: la versificación regular de las *Chansons de Geste* se descompuso en España i se convirtió en prosa rimada, i, en una época posterior, esta misma prosa rimada se regularizó y dió por resultado el octonario de los romances.⁶

One looks in vain for a parallel in the poetry of other nations to the process here assumed. Granting for the moment that the versification of the *Chansons de Geste* influenced the epic verse of Castile—and our theorists indicate neither the time nor the place of such contact—why should it have undergone the pretended metamorphosis any more than, to cite only one example, the Provençal decasyllable adopted by the Gallego-Portuguese School in the twelfth century? Again, if rhymed prose, as is suggested, was chosen by the Castilian bard in order to impart a national character to his work, in antagonism to the French, why was it not retained? And if one appeals to the determining action of the Church upon the social and intellectual life of the nation, why not also consider that through this very tutelage the Hispanic minstrel may have acquired a musical and metrical execution similar to that of his fellow in France?⁷ Hanssen himself observes⁸ that the rhythmic art of the hymns was characterized by the counting of syllables quite as much as Romance metrics, and Arevalus⁹ testifies to the otherwise well-known fact that Latin hymns of popular character were regularly sung by the people in the churches. What then, authorizes the assumption that such an artist as the composer of the *Poema del Cid* could not satisfactorily reproduce the French

⁶ See *l. c.*, pp. 27-28.

⁷ Cf. e. g., F. d'Ovidio, *Sull' Origine dei versi italiani* in *Giornale Storico*, 32, p. 22, and Menéndez y Pelayo, *l. c.*, pp. 122-123, who only criticizes d'Ovidio for his failure to keep the epic metre apart from the lyric. See below.

⁸ *Zur lat. u. roman. Metrik*, Valparaiso, 1901, p. 30.

⁹ *Hymnodia hispanica*, Rome, 1786, p. 345: "Hi duo hymni conditi sunt, non ut intra officium ecclesiasticum recinantur, sed ut ab universo populo vel decantentur vel recitentur."

versification if he so desired, or did not have an appropriate instrument of his own? Is such authority secured from any more trustworthy source than the metrical disorder of the transcript of Per Abbat, regarding which Hanssen himself, in his review of Menéndez Pidal's *edición crítica*, says¹⁰: La forma actual del *Cantar* dista mucho de ser la originaria. También podemos suponer que primitivamente el metro fuese aun más regular que en la edición de Menéndez [Pidal]?¹¹

Even from considerations of a general character, then, the thesis proposed by Menéndez y Pelayo and Hanssen appears highly improbable. But let us examine it on its own merits. Where is the pretended dissolution of the French epic metres demonstrably exemplified, and in what manner? How is the separation of the lyric from the epic octosyllable, upon which our disintegrative critics insist, justified? No information is offered on these points.

As early as 1846, Diez had shown¹² that the Alexandrine was a measure of comparatively late development, and his conclusion has been confirmed by subsequent research.¹³ It is first found in the *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne* which belongs to the second quarter of the twelfth century¹⁴ and is consequently about contemporary with the *Poem of the Cid*, if the opinion is correct that the original composition of this epic precedes the year 1140.¹⁵ The decasyllable, on the other hand, until about 1150 the exclusive measure of the French epic, appears for the first time in the *Chanson de Roland*, the oldest known *chanson de geste*, the extant redaction of which dates from about

¹⁰ *Bulletin de Dialectol. romane*, 4 (1912), p. 136. A similar opinion was repeatedly expressed by Menéndez y Pelayo himself, as *Antol.* 2, pp. xxii, xxvi, and 11, p. 336, who thus again contradicts himself.

¹¹ Hanssen occasionally cites both Menéndez y Pelayo and Menéndez Pidal by the abbreviation "Menéndez."

¹² *Altromanische Sprachdenkmale*, Bonn, 1846, pp. 129-130.

¹³ Cf. Rajna, *Origini dell' epopea francese*, p. 500 f.; G. Paris, *Romania*, 13, p. 623; and especially Coulet, *Voyage de Charlemagne*, 1907, p. 387, who calls attention to the fact that all the epics contemporary with the *Voyage* employ the decasyllable.

¹⁴ See Petit de Julleville, *Histoire de la litt. française*, 1, pp. 104-105, 113; Coulet, *l. c.*, pp. 384-387. The latter critic properly regards the *Voyage* or *Pèlerinage* as a didactic rather than an epic poem.

¹⁵ Cf. Baist, *Grundriss*, II, 2, p. 396; Menéndez Pidal, *Cantar de Mio Cid*, 1, p. 28.

1099,¹⁶ in other words, at most fifty years before the Poem of the Cid.¹⁷ Supposing, now, that the action of the French epic upon the Castilian began, as Menéndez y Pelayo thought, with the *Chanson de Roland*,¹⁸ and that the imagined formation of the epic octosyllable by a process of natural selection was completed within something more than two centuries after that,¹⁹ are we to accept the peculiar metrical confusion of the copy of Per Abbat, from which this ingenious hypothesis is deduced, as a first result of the first fifty years (1099-1150) of the alleged rhythmical dissolution or selection? And if so, how are we to explain the presence in that text of not less than 28 per cent. of absolutely regular romance-hemistichs and 33 per cent. of heptasyllables,²⁰ which latter measure the late Spanish critic himself repeatedly identified with the Alexandrine?²¹ Not having appeared in the *chansons de geste* before 1140 at the earliest, how could the Alexandrine have become a part of what is claimed to be rhymed prose in the copy of Per Abbat? Or was it perchance consigned to the magic cauldron only after 1140, in other words at a time when it began to dominate the *mester de clerecía* for two centuries, though even then replaced in a good many works to the extent of 25 per cent. by the octosyllable?²² From what has been said it is evident that the Alexandrine could not have entered into the metrical system of the original composition of our Poem. As for the one hundred and forty cases of the decasyllable in the same work, we saw above²³ that Menéndez y Pelayo

¹⁶ See G. Paris, *Manuel*, § 22; Petit de Julleville, *l. c.*, pp. 85-89. Unless Menéndez y Pelayo (*Antol.* II, p. 192) had in mind an older form of the *Roland* than the one we now have, as indeed would appear from other, somewhat conflicting utterances (*l. c.*, pp. 71-73), it is not clear how he could say that this epic became known in Spain in the eleventh century.

In the first part of an article on the *Rolandsdichter*, recently published in the *Zeitsch. f. rom. Philol.*, vol. 38, Tavernier asserts (p. 99) that the *Roland* was written by Tuoldus sometime after 1194.

¹⁷ It is used, however, in the Provençal poem of *Boethius*, composed not later than the beginning of the eleventh century, which, though not a *chanson de geste* itself, is cast in the mould of such an one.

¹⁸ *Antol.* 2, p. xv; II, pp. 80-81, 185 ff.; also 3, p. 38.

¹⁹ *L. c.*, II, pp. 93-95.

²⁰ See I, p. 27.

²¹ *L. c.* 2, p. xix; II, pp. 9, 90.

²² See I, pp. 11, 15, 25, and 30, note 108.

²³ See I, pp. 14 and 27.

ruled them out as incompatible with the character of the epic verse of Castile, thus admitting that this verse was fully developed in the epoch of the Cid. As a matter of fact, it is highly improbable that the iambic decasyllable formed part of the original Poem for the reason that the *Chanson de Roland* itself was hardly known in Castile as early or as well as has been supposed. Charles, Roland and Oliver are first mentioned in the *Carmen Almeriae* (1147), while the Monk of Silo (about 1000)²⁴ has nothing to say of Roland and the epic concerning him, though he inveighs against Charlemagne and the Franks. It is characteristic of the uncritical manner in which this and other theses regarding the metrical history of the heroic poetry of Spain have been formed that in other parts of the same work Menéndez y Pelayo affirms²⁵ that the French decasyllable was always of rare occurrence in Castilian poetry,²⁶ that the Alexandrine was immediately upon its appearance in the Spanish epic overcome by the national octosyllable,²⁷ and again,²⁸ that in all probability the constant recitation of minstrelsy accustomed the writers of the *mester de clerecía*, as for example the author of the *Poema de Fernan Gonzalez*, to the cadence of the octosyllable, so that they frequently mixed this measure with the hemistichs of the Alexandrine.²⁹ The originator, then, of the theory under discussion himself concedes unequivocally the fact that the epic metre of Castile, the *verso de redondilla mayor*, was in full vigor in the twelfth century, and consequently that the assumed process of dissolution and selection, out of which it was to evolve in the course of more than two hundred years, never took place. The futility of his theory might have become apparent to him at once by an attentive study of the one hundred and eighty

²⁴ See *España Sagrada*, 17, p. 226.

²⁵ *L. c.*, II, pp. 82-83.

²⁶ As was stated above (I, p. 25, note 87), the iambic decasyllable was the favorite metre of the Gallego-Portuguese court-poets, many of whom were Castilians, and was used in narrative as well as in lyric composition.

²⁷ Cf. also *l. c.*, 2, p. xx, and especially II, pp. 81-82, where the statement is made that if the Castilian minstrel had imitated the French metres, he could have reproduced them perfectly. Here, then, the connection of French versification with the evolution of the octosyllable is explicitly denied. And on another occasion, *l. c.*, 2, p. xxxvi, the opinion is expressed that "la derivación francesa del metro (i. e., of the Alexandrine) ni está probada ni es verosímil" Cf. *l. c.*, p. 19.

²⁸ *L. c.*, II, p. 97.

²⁹ See I, pp. 11, 15, 25, 30, note.

miracle-lays of Alphonse X which not only make regular use of the catalectic and acatalectic forms of the trochaic tetrameter, but, as Wolf pointed out as early as 1853,³⁰ are practically cast in the mould of the romance type.³¹

The separation of the lyric from the epic octosyllable, of which so much has been made,³² is a purely arbitrary one. It is not borne out by the practice observable either in Spain or elsewhere in poetical tradition. The same metre serves epic and lyric expression, as may be seen, for example, in the political verse of modern Greece;³³ and epic and lyric blend in form and feeling the more we approach primitive conditions of poetry.³⁴

One more word here anent the matter of French influence upon the heroic song of Castile. After considering the respective claims of the sixteen-syllable and the Alexandrine to recognition as the metrical basis of the Poem of the Cid, Baist³⁵ observes:

³⁰ *Studien*, pp. 436-437, 715-719.

³¹ See I, p. 21, note 68. Menéndez y Pelayo's discussion of the *Cantigas de Santa María* in an article in the *Ilustración española y americana*, February, 1895, and *Antol.* 3, pp. ix-xi, shows that he had no knowledge of the metrical problems presented by them.

³² See *Antol.* 11, p. 96: "Si no se admite el origen épico del octosílabo, su aparición resulta inexplicable"; and cf. *l. c.*, pp. 8, 94, 123, note 2, and p. 127; also Hanssen, *Notas*, p. 33.

³³ Cf. e. g., G. Meyer, *Essays und Studien*, p. 386.

³⁴ Cf. Rajna, *Origini*, p. 20: I popoli cominciano da una poesia unica nella sostanza, sebbene varia nelle applicazioni. Una medesima specie di verso serve tanto per ciò che sarà più tardi un genere, quanto per l'altro; poesia e musica s'accoppiano non meno se si ricordano i fatti e gli eroi del passato, che se s'invocano gli Dei. Bücher, *Arbeit. u. Rhythmus*, 4^{te} Aufl., 1909, p. 323: "Ein völliger Irrtum ist die Annahme, dass die Tanzlieder der Naturvölker wesentlich lyrischer Natur seien. Epische Elemente sind in ihnen vielleicht ebenso häufig." Regarding the growth of epic and lyric elements out of labor-song, see *l. c.*, pp. 380-388.

Nothing more erroneous, therefore, than Milá's dismissal of choral poetry as a medium of epic song (*Poesía heroica*, p. 406), especially in a country like Spain, in which, as is well known (cf. I, pp. 18-19), the singing of romances still goes hand in hand with the dance. We have here one of the many illustrations of Milá's purely theoretical idea of poetic genesis.

That Menéndez y Pelayo himself occasionally forgets his favorite theory of the separation of the lyric and the epic and of the late origin of the romances may be seen, e. g., from *Antol.* 12, pp. 31-32, where he describes an *endeche* composed shortly after 1146 as "el más antiguo vestigio de un género de poesía lírica popular, muy enlazado con los romances."

³⁵ *Grundriss*, II, 2, p. 390. Cf. also Hanssen, *Zur span. u. portug. Metrik*, p. 55.

"Nimmt man aber Cornus These im ganzen Umfange an, so braucht der Vers darum nicht vorfranzösisch zu sein. Gerade bei der Uebertragung von Alexandrinern mochte sich sprachlich das Bedürfniss nach einer Verlängerung geltend machen." As we have seen, this view, quite generally held,³⁶ is in contradiction with the long established fact that the Alexandrine does not appear in the French epic itself before 1140 at the earliest. Unless, then, the original redaction of the Poem was much later than that date, it could hardly have employed the Alexandrine, but must have adopted either the decasyllable or else a native metre (see I, p. 9). We are thus again led to the conclusion that contrary to the assertions of Baist³⁷ and Menéndez Pidal,³⁸ the 33 per cent. of heptasyllables in our extant Poem identified with Alexandrine hemistichs are due to a metrical recast which must have been attempted not very long after the original composition of the epic, probably between 1150 and 1175.³⁹

It now remains to inspect, as briefly as possible, an original contribution offered by Hanssen in support of Menéndez y Pelayo's fantastic idea. Proceeding from the extreme metrical irregularity of the extant copy of our Poem,⁴⁰ and from Menéndez Pidal's inference therefrom that the Castilian epic, instead of being sung, was accompanied by a simple recitative,⁴¹ the learned investigator of Santiago remarks: "Los romances, que aparecen compasados en las antiguas obras musicales, hoy en día se cantan en Castilla

³⁶ Cf. Baist, *l. c.*: Im spanischen Heldenlied des 12. Jhs. lebt das französische des 10. neu auf, in unmittelbaren, freien durchaus nationalen Schöpfungen. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.* 11, 9: "El poema de Alfonso XI . . . es un nuevo argumento, sin embargo, de que el alejandrino, que parece dominar en el *Poema del Cid* y probablemente en todas las gestas más antiguas, había cedido ya el puesto al metro nacional de diez y seis sílabas, cuyas huellas se perciben á cada momento en la prosificación de las varias refundiciones de la *Crónica General*. Cf. with this the discrepant statements of the same author cited, p. 299, and notes 27 and 28.

³⁷ *L. c.*, p. 397. See I, p. 28, note 97.

³⁸ *Cantar de Mio Cid*, I, p. 33. See I, p. 5.

³⁹ See I, pp. 28-29. We shall have occasion further on to discuss the nature of the influence which French heroic song antecedent to the extant redaction of the *Chanson de Roland* may have had on the development of the Castilian epic.

⁴⁰ As we saw above (p. 297), Hanssen, within a year of adopting it, once more rejected this theory as a critical basis.

⁴¹ *Cantar de Mio Cid*, I, pp. 102-103.

sin compas, con el ritmo natural del lenguaje hablado. Atestigua esta circunstancia Olmeda, *Folklore de Castilla*, Sevilla, 1903."⁴² To this it may be answered in the first place that even if the alleged practice were far more general than it really is, it would not follow that it also obtained in the period of the epics on the Infantes de Lara and the Cid.⁴³ Quite apart from a by no means unlikely imitation of the musical execution of the French *chansons de geste*, we may note that the structural agreement of the Poem of the Cid with the romances in point of assonance, paragoge and metre renders it highly probable, if not absolutely certain, that it was sung to measured music which did not admit of hemistichs varying between three and twelve or more syllables. And it may be answered in the second place that the modern method of recitation to which Hanssen appeals, is well known not to apply to balladry at all as a rule. Where it seems to obtain, it is due to incompetent collecting and recording far more than to reality.⁴⁴ While it is true that most collectors,—and this is exactly the case with Hanssen's authority Olmeda⁴⁵—rely upon the recitation of individuals who from the unnaturalness of the performance distort the character of their repertory, there is abundant evidence for Spain as well as for other countries,⁴⁶ that the heroic lay is sung by the festal throng at the communal dance, and that its textual and metrical exactness

⁴² *Notas*, p. 28.

⁴³ See I, pp. 28-30; also Hanssen, *Notas*, p. 12 (= *Revue de Dialectologie romane*, I, p. 459).

⁴⁴ See, e. g., the important article by Carolina Michaelis entitled: "*Estudios sobre o romanceiro peninsular*," in *Revista lusitana*, 2, pp. 156-179 and 193-240, in which (pp. 156-164) the deplorable results of hasty and uncritical collecting are clearly set forth, and witness is borne to the correctness, both rhythmical and textual, with which the romance is still preserved in communal dance and song.

⁴⁵ Olmeda explicitly states, *l. c.*, p. 12: "Habr  recogido directamente del pueblo burgales, tom ndolas unas veces de un solo cantor   cantora, otras veces de un grupo de los mejores cantores   cantoras del pueblo   los que reunia en un sal n, pr ximamente unas seiscientas canciones." He nowhere says that he took any romances down from the choral song of the festal throng.

⁴⁶ See I, pp. 18-19; Carolina Michaelis, *l. c.*, pp. 158-160; Francisco Sota, *Chronica de los Pr ncipes de Asturias y Cantabria* (Madrid 1861), says in his account of Rodrigo Gonz lez (pp. 544-580): "A la prisi n del conde se hizo un romance que hasta hoy canta la juventud de Asturias de Santillana en sus bayles y danzas"; Duran, *Romana. gen.*, I, p. liv. B cher, *l. c.*, pp. 84-85, and especially 386-387: "Auf den F r dern singt man die Heldenlieder in den Spinnstuben und zum Reigentanze, und Aehnliches finden wir auch bei den Alten."

is thus handed down from one generation to another. Needless to say that the same principle applies to the earliest period of vernacular verse in the Peninsula. While the activity of the minstrel, and the creation of a poem like the one on the Cid, betoken a very high development of heroic poetry in Castile at the beginning of the twelfth century, and indicate an appreciable remove from conditions of purely collective improvisation, yet that poetry was still essentially the expression⁴⁷ of a nation of uniform intellectual life. For this reason we may, as was done above,⁴⁸ regard exact rhythm as one of its essential elements and reject as wholly unfounded Hanssen's theory of the disintegration of a regular rhythm or metre long before the date of the composition of the Poem of the Cid.⁴⁹ The further back we go in the evolution of poetry, the more we find construction instead of dissolution. The latter process appears in the wake of conditions well recognized by the student of ethnology and comparative poetics.⁵⁰

In our case, it was the rise of literary art in the twelfth century⁵¹ which prepared the rupture of that social consent which had become especially strong in Spain through the close companionship of noble and commoner in the long struggle against the Crescent.⁵² The first note of this intellectual divorce of lay-society is heard in the much-cited fling of the author of the *Libro de Alexandre* at the *mester de juglaría*.⁵³ And the relegation of ballad-singing as a

⁴⁷ Cf. the definition of the term "people" in the *Siete Partidas*, II, 10, 1: "Cuidan algunos omes que pueblo es llamado la gente menuda, así como menestrales et labradores, mas esto non es así ca. . . Pueblo llaman el ayuntamiento de todos los omes comunalmente, de los mayores et de los menores et de los medianos."

⁴⁸ See I, pp. 17-18.

⁴⁹ *Notas*, p. 29.

⁵⁰ See e. g., G. Meyer, *l. c.*, p. 309: "Ein Volk, das lesen und schreiben kann, hört auf zu improvisieren . . . und die Geburtsstunde einer Literatur ist zugleich die Todesstunde des Volksliedes. Darum wissen wir aus dem alten Griechenland, wo die Literatur in so ungewöhnlichem Masse populär geworden war, sehr wenig von der Volksdichtung"; and Gummere, *l. c.*, pp. 177-180.

⁵¹ See I, p. 29.

⁵² Menéndez Pidal (*Romancero español*, the Hispanic Society, 1910, p. 9) reverses the historical order of events when he says: "Entonces, entre esos mismos siglos XIV y XV . . . se fraguaba en la frontera andaluza el alma nacional, confundiendo á nobles y plebeyos en comunes empresas, en ideales y sentimientos comunes," etc.

⁵³ See I, pp. 24-25.

communal practice to the unlettered class of the people is marked as an accomplished fact by a celebrated utterance of the Marques de Santillana. After dividing in his invaluable *Prohemio*,⁵⁴ written in Guadalajara in 1449, all lyric poetry of a literary character ("que en nuestro vulgar gaya sçiençia llamamos," as he says) into three grades, the *sublime*, the *mediocre* and the *infimo*,⁵⁵ and designating the verse of the Greeks and Latins as *sublime*, and that of writers in the vernacular, like Guido Guinicelli and Arnaut Daniel, whom he understood to have been the first to compose *terza rima* and sonnets,⁵⁶ as *mediocre*, the great Castilian humanist defines the *infimo* or lowest grade as follows: "*Infimos son aquellos que sin ningun orden, regla, nin cuento façen estos romances é cantares de que las gentes de baxa é servil condiçion se alegran.*"

What is the real meaning of this statement the great import of which for the literary history of Spain cannot be denied?

As the *Prohemio* is throughout exclusively concerned with literary verse, it is hardly to be supposed that the *romances* and *cantares* here compared with the elaborately versified scholastic lyricism of Italy and Provence were thought of as popular poetry in any strict sense of the term. They must consequently be understood as literary compositions reproducing songs designated by these terms, the exact sense of which it thus becomes our duty to determine.

As regards the name *romances*, there can scarcely be any doubt that it was used by Santillana in the acceptation which we find elsewhere in contemporary literature⁵⁷ and which has been the regular one since his day. We refer for the present to the discussion of the *romance* as such by Nebrija in his *Gramática castellana* (1492)⁵⁸ and by Encina in his *Arte de trobar* (1496).⁵⁹ It is not

⁵⁴ Published by Amador de los Rios, *Obras de D. Iñigo Lopez de Mendoza*, pp. 1-18, and by Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.* 5, pp. 18-29.

⁵⁵ See *l. c.*, § IX.

⁵⁶ Santillana confesses (*l. c.*): "que destes yo non he visto obra alguna," from which it appears that he knew of the Provençal style only through the Consistory of the Gay Science and the Catalans.

⁵⁷ For the signification of the words *romanz*, *romance*, *romanzo* see Wolf, *Studien*, p. 401 ff.; Milá y Fontanals, *l. c.*, p. 416 ff.; Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.* 11, pp. 6-9. The earliest known Portuguese use of the term is found in *Canc. de Resende*, III, p. 358.

⁵⁸ Printed in *Antol.* 5; see p. 65, cap. VIII.

⁵⁹ Printed *l. c.*; see p. 44, cap. VII.

unlikely, however, that the word was employed in the same sense before the fifteenth century, as e. g. in the following reference of the *General* (p. 375 a 27) to the poetical legend of Bernardo del Carpio: "Et algunos dizen en sus romances et en sus cantares que el rey quando lo sopo" etc.,⁶⁰ where it is linked with *cantares* as in Santillana; or again in *General* p. 471 a 33: "dize aqui en el castellano la estoria del *Romanz* dell inffant Garcia dotra manera." Menéndez y Pelayo (*Antol.*, vol. II) interprets the last cited passage in two different ways. At first (pp. 7-8), while entertaining the usual suspicion of the presence of an extensive poem, he declares that *estoria del Romanz* cannot mean anything but "historia en romance, es decir, en lengua vulgar"; later, however (pp. 254-257), he is quite positive that *romanz* refers here to a large epic in three divisions. The first suggestion is obviously wrong, not only because *estoria del romanz* is not the equivalent of *estoria en romanz*, but because it is not probable that the compilers of the *General* contrasted the previously cited Latin chronicles of Archbishop Rodrigo and of Lucas Tudensis with a third prose-text, and also because, as a matter of fact, the *General* does exhibit traces of a poetical source.⁶¹ If, then, the text relating the tragic death of Garcia was in poetical form, what reason have we for assuming that this was a more or less extensive epic, and not one or more smaller songs of the species later termed *romances*? Milá y Fontanals⁶² regards the legend as one likely to have called forth "un cantar que pudo ser de regulares dimensiones," but admits that the existence of such a poem is nothing more than probable; Menéndez y Pelayo, on the other hand, treats it as a matter of fact, just as he confidently speaks of several *cantares de gesta* on King Rodrigo and Bernardo del Carpio,⁶³ without offering proof in either case. It is obvious that sober criticism is concerned not with the question whether a certain tragic feud was or was not of a nature to inspire a long poetic narrative—Italy is rich in sinister tragedies, and yet has no national epopee—but whether such an epic actually existed, and if so, at what time it originated. A large popular epic, as every student of poetic genesis knows, is not an easy, rustic piece

⁶⁰ Variant of Ms. T for *romances*] *razones*.

⁶¹ Cf. Milá, *l. c.*, p. 198, and Baist, *Grundriss*, II, 2, p. 395.

⁶² *L. c.*, p. 201.

⁶³ *Antol.* II, pp. 157-159, 197, 207-208.

of work, but presupposes a considerably advanced stage in the art of composition. Now, few will seriously contend that such a point of broad, synthetic production had been reached in Castile in the first third of the eleventh century, to which the events narrated belong, while France, with a much broader national life, and with a literary activity at once earlier and incomparably richer than that of Spain, was still waiting for the final elaboration of her first national epic, the *Chanson de Roland*.⁶⁴ If, then, the alleged *cantar de gesta* on the Infante Garcia ever existed, it must have been composed at a much later date.⁶⁵ And as heroic tradition must be either at once fixed in poetic form or, as may have happened with the legend of the Infantes de Lara, kept alive by some such exterior object as a monument or a tomb,⁶⁶ if it is not soon to fall into oblivion, we are justified in assuming that our tragic legend was committed to the memory of men in smaller songs long before it could become, by the organic development of one or more of these, the leading theme of a large epic. We may reckon, then, in any case with the elaboration, in the period under discussion, of epic lays of smaller compass, and consider it as highly probable, if not certain, that it was one of these, and not a vanished long composition, that the compilers of the *General* referred to by the word *romanz*.⁶⁷ Combined with the other instance contained in the same chronicle, and with cases presently to be cited, it establishes a presumption in favor of the opinion that as early as the 13th century

⁶⁴ See above, pp. 297-298, and note 16. That the type of the popular French epic existed long before the final redaction of the *Chanson de Roland* is shown by the use of its form in the *Alexis* and the Provençal poem on Boethius.

⁶⁵ Menéndez y Pelayo must have been of this opinion himself if one may judge from statements like the following (*Antol.* 2, p. xv): "Que la poesía más antigua influyese en la más moderna: que la admirable *Canción de Rolando*, divulgada por lo menos desde el siglo XI, y tan interesante á los españoles por su asunto, se hiciese familiar á nuestros juglares. . . . era no sólo natural, sino históricamente forzoso."

⁶⁶ See G. Paris, *Romania*, 13, pp. 602, 617 ff.; *La légende des Infants de Lara*, p. 19 (reprint from *Journal des Savants*, 1898). It is safe to say that the conjectured original epic on this subject (cf. I, pp. 8-9), of a second redaction of which Menéndez Pidal has recovered some 400 more or less fragmentary lines, was a poem of even smaller extent than is supposed. Cf. Morf, *Deutsche Rundschau*, 1900, p. 392.

⁶⁷ It is true that *romanz* occurs in the second *explicit* of the copy of Per Abbat (l. 3733) with reference to the whole work, but it is doubtful that it was there intended to mean anything more than poem or narrative in general.

the word *romanz* or *romance* had come to adopt, among its other meanings, the special one which it has in Santillana and his contemporaries.

The case of *cantares* is not nearly so clear. Santillana's coupling of this term with *romances* has led many to take it with Wolf⁶⁸ in the sense of large epics, and to refer it directly to the only known example of this class of verse, the Poem of the Cid. It will be necessary to examine here as briefly as possible the various uses of the term *cantar*.

1. Song in general, whether epic or lyric. *General* 312 a 42 (*Duelo de España*) Oblidados le son los sus cantares; *Siete Partidas*, II, 6, 21: Alegrías y ha otras sin las que diximos en las leyes antes destas. . . . E estas son oyr cantares e sonos de estrumentos, e jugar axedrez; II, 20, 21: que los juglares non dixiesen ante ellos (sc. los caballeros) otros cantares sinon de gesta.

2. Lyric poem, whether sacred or secular. *General* 231, b: quando oyeron las uozes destos cantares (referring to *hymnos* and *cantigas*); Berceo, *Duelo* c, 176: controbando cantares que non valiesen tres figas. Alphonse X, *Cantigas de S. Maria*, 6, 4: Era un cantar en que Diz: Gaude, Virgo Maria; cf. *ibid.* 281, 366, no. 11 of *fiestas* (p. 600); Juan Roiz, c. 12, 19, 915, etc.; *Rimado de Palacio*, c. 706, 745, 753, 779, 829, 841, 862; *Canc. Baena*, Nos. 14, 202, 268, 430, 558.

In the four other passages of his works in which Santillana employs the word *cantar*, it unquestionably denotes a lyric song. Thus *Prohemio* (*l. c.*, p. 5, § VI); En metro las epithalamias, que son cantares que en loor de los novios en las bodas se cantan, son conpuestos; again, *l. c.*, p. 13 § XVI: Usó una manera de decir cantares, asy como scénicos Plauto é Terencio, tambien en estrambotes como en serranas; in a quotation-song (p. 403): Este cantar dolorido; and finally in the *villancico* (p. 462) addressed to his daughters, which is itself an example of the traditional love-poetry imitated by the courtly singers of the period:

⁶⁸ See *Studien*, p. 416, where it is referred to the Poem of the Cid, and cf. e. g., Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.* II, p. 95, and Lidforss, *Cantares*, p. 102.

⁶⁹ *Poesía heroica*, p. 154. Cf. the passage cited above from the *General* (p. 375 a 27).

Començo de sospirar
 E deçir este cantar
 Con muy honesta messura:
 La niña que amores ha,
 Sola, como dormirá?⁷⁰

3. Epic lay, or ballad. *General*, 351 a 21: Et algunos dizen en sus cantares et en sus fablas⁷¹ que fue este Bernaldo fijo de donna Timbor hermana de Carlos rey de Francia; 355 b 49 Et algunos dizen en sus cantares et en sus fablas de gesta que conquirio Carlos en Espanna muchas çipdades et muchos castiellos;⁷² 371 a 25 E dizen algunos en sus cantares segund cuenta la historia⁷³ que este frances Bueso que so primo era de Bernaldo; 375 a 27 Et algunos dizen en sus romances et en sus cantares que el rey quando lo sopo que mando quel fiziessen bannos.⁷⁴

As may be seen from these passages, the *General* invariably refers to the poetical source of the legend of Bernardo and Bueso by the plural term *cantares*, never by the singular *cantar*. Without even so much as attempting to answer the unavoidable question what kind of songs, whether a number of extensive productions, or a series of smaller lays, the compilers of the chronicle must have designated by the plural expression *cantares*, Milá (pp. 163-167) tells us that the poetical legend of Bernardo, not being mentioned in the *Carmen de Almeria*, was probably formed between the date of that poem (1147) and the composition of the school-epic on Fernan Gonzalez (1250) where it appears for the first time;⁷⁵ while Menéndez y Pelayo⁷⁶ concludes (p. 197) from this bare mention of *cantares* that "No un solo cantar de gesta, sino varios, y nada conformes entre sí, habían corrido sobre las aven-

⁷⁰ For this ancient refrain, see Lang, *Canc. Gallego-Castelh.* p. 223, and *Revue Hispanique*, 16, p. 14, note 1.

⁷¹ Mss. LO read: cantares de gesta que, etc., omitting *fablas*.

⁷² Ms. L reads: maguer que los juglares cuentan en sus cantares de gesta que, etc.

⁷³ *Segund to historia* omitted in Mss. TB.

⁷⁴ Romances] razones T, en seu romanço A.

⁷⁵ P. 163, note 1, Milá remarks: No es de presumir que se descubran ni que existan ahora cantares de Bernaldo.

⁷⁶ *Antol.* 11, pp. 176-216.

turas del héroe;"⁷⁷ and not content with this, he declares it (p. 207-208) as almost beyond a doubt that Bernardo must have been the subject of "uno ó más *mesteres de juglaría* posteriores á la *General* é independientes de su texto," without which "there would be no explanation for the origin of the only romance on Bernardo"⁷⁸ which may properly be called *old* and breathes the spirit of the heroic muse."

Considering first the undetermined number of epics of divergent tradition claimed to have been known and in part utilized by the compilers of the *General*, we are confronted with the question, not even touched upon by the Spanish critic, whether the production of these lost poems was coetaneous with the personages they sang, say the first half of the ninth century; or whether, as Milá apparently thought (see above), it is to be assigned to the period (1140-1250) to which we are indebted for the only two extant, far from really popular, epics, the Poem of the Cid and the one on Fernan Gonzalez. Upon the first supposition the turbulent little states of Northern Spain are credited with the attainment of a phase of higher composition undreamt of in heroic France in those days, and wholly incompatible with the indisputable fact that a popular epic develops organically out of a more primitive art of smaller lays contemporary with the events.⁷⁹ Upon the

⁷⁷ Cf. p. 198: "En otras gestas, ó en estas mismas, se atribuían á Bernardo grandes empresas en Francia; and again, *l. c.*: Precisamente en esta familia de cantares desdeñados por la *General*, estaban los únicos elementos históricos de la leyenda." Cf. Milá, *l. c.*, p. 396, who naïvely says: "Sabemos que la historia poética de Bernardo formaba una serie de cantares extensos," whereas in a passage cited above, p. 12, note 6, he expresses himself with more caution. Baist, *l. c.*, p. 391, does not claim the existence of any extensive song or songs on our hero.

⁷⁸ "Con cartas y mensajeros, el rey al Carpio envió" (*Primavera*, nos. 13 and 13a).

⁷⁹ The reason why Menéndez y Pelayo was not disturbed by such questions as the one under discussion, becomes apparent from the painful facility with which Milá y Fontanals (*Poesía heroica*, p. 406) solved the problem of the genesis of a large epic poem: "3. *Primitiva forma del cantar de gesta*. Facilísima es la explicación del origen del cantar épico. Ocurre un hecho notable. Un individuo que se reconoce con dotes para salir airoso de su intento, movido de la impresion que el hecho le ha causado y deseo de comunicarla (lo cual no está absolutamente reñido con la expectativa de ganancia), lo narra á un cierto número de oyentes. El narrador, que no es un simple noticiero, imprime en sus palabras cierta solemnidad y aparato. Aguijonéale la inspiracion: adopta

second supposition it remains to be explained (cf. above, p. 10) how a heroic tradition based upon events of the eighth and ninth centuries and dealing, as in this instance, chiefly with a personage created by the popular imagination, could perpetuate itself during three hundred years or more, if not immediately cast into the mould of that class of lyrico-epic songs which, as Lope de Vega so happily expressed it, "nacén al coger los trigos."⁸⁰ So long as it is not conclusively shown that without such a poetic embodiment of the tradition or such other aid as was indicated above, a people can be sufficiently enthused over a hero centuries after his death to evoke the creation of a popular epic, and so long as no traces of a poetic text or texts discernible in the *General* have been proved with reasonable clearness to form part of two or more extensive poems rather than of a number of minor songs, we submit that the *cantares* cited in the chronicle do not refer to two or more large epics,⁸¹ but to traditional ballads,⁸² and that they thus testify to the existence of a ballad-type in the thirteenth century, if not earlier.

As for the one or two large poems which Menéndez y Pelayo assumes to have been composed after the *General*, in other words, about the beginning of the fourteenth century, and which he would

un ritmo más ó ménos vago y cierta entonacion musical; da á los incidentes y á las circunstancias del hecho la animacion y el resalto con que los percibe su acalorada fantasia. Estas son las *nuevas* cantadas, el hecho histórico sin invenciones ni ornato, pero poéticamente realizado. Absortos los oyentes se mantienen de todo punto pasivos; no interrumpen al narrador ni siquiera con versos repetidos á intervalos; únicamente desean enterarse de la historia, de la gesta. Este ha de ser el origen, naturalmente narrativo, de la poesia épica." Here we have the key to Milá's theory of the origin of the romances. See, for a similar view, Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.* II, p. 41.

⁸⁰ Menéndez y Pelayo, *l. c.*, p. 39, denies the existence of such songs, not because it is "metafísicamente imposible, sino porque no tenemos la más leve noticia ni el menor rastro de semejante poesia." Supposing that this were true, what evidence has our critic for the sixteen or more *cantares de gesta* with which he adorns the Castilian Parnassus?

⁸¹ That it is extensive compositions that Menéndez y Pelayo means by the term *cantares de gesta*, may be seen, *l. c.*, p. 40: "A veces los compiladores fluctúan entre varias versiones, pero todas de la misma especie: hasta los rastros de la versificación asonantada sirven para probar que tenían á la vista cantares muy largos y naturalmente indivisos."

⁸² A more detailed examination of this point will be found in the discussion of the respective ballad on Bernardo.

have us consider as the only possible source of what is to him the only old romance on Bernardo, it may suffice here to say, in the first place, that this idea is again unsupported by even a suspicion of evidence; in the second place, that the time for the creation of new popular epics had passed, this art showing signs of decadence prior to the compilation of the *General*;⁸³ in the third place, that according to a doctrine professed by Menéndez Pidal⁸⁴ it is not to primitive and fresh, but to recast and decadent epics that the oldest and finest ballads handed down owe their life; and finally, that the cherished theory of the derivation of the romances as a type from the débris of large poems remains yet to be proved. How is it, we may ask here, that of the many epics, and particularly the recasts of old epics which are said to have been written between 1000-1400 or even later, not a single one has been preserved even in a demonstrable fragment, while we do have romances which, according to the same theorists, date from as early as the first part of the fourteenth century?⁸⁵

Let us now return to our *cantares*.

General 509 a 37 "et dizen en los cantares de las gestas que la touo cercada VII annos; mas esto non pudo ser etc."⁸⁶ Unless we assume the existence of two full-bodied epopees on the siege of Zamora instead of the one claimed by Menéndez y Pelayo⁸⁷ and Menéndez Pidal,⁸⁸ it will hardly be safe to say that the *cantares* cited in this passage were anything more than minor epic songs, presumably of the extent of such *romances juglarescos* as the ones in Conde Alarcos, Gaiferos or Baldovinos. *Cronica de 1344*⁸⁹ (p. 322): "E por esta onra que el rey ovo fué llamado despues el par de Emperador, é por esto dixerón los cantares que passó los puertos de Aspa á pesar de franceses." *Tercera Cronica General* 225 c.: "non son de creer todas las cosas que los omes dizen en sus cantares." *Cronica de Veinte*

⁸³ See e. g., Menéndez Pidal, *Leyenda*, p. 40 f.; *Homenaje*, I, p. 447; *Cantar de Mio Cid*, I, pp. 128-130, and *Romancero*, p. 8.

⁸⁴ See *Leyenda*, pp. 44-45; *Epopée*, pp. 9, 145-146; *Romancero*, pp. 10-11, 16.

⁸⁵ Cf. e. g., Menéndez Pidal, *Leyenda*, pp. 42-46, 82-84; *Homenaje á Menéndez y Pelayo*, I, 447-455; *Romancero*, pp. 8-19; Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.* II, p. 274.

⁸⁶ Mss. F O omit de las gestas.

⁸⁷ *Antol.* II, 333-335.

⁸⁸ *Epopée*, pp. 57-80.

⁸⁹ The quotations from this still unedited chronicle are taken from the *Antología* of Menéndez y Pelayo.

Reyes,⁹⁰ cited by Berganza, *Antigüedades de España*, I, 420: "E algunos dizen en sus cantares que avia el Rey un fijo de ganancia que era Cardenal en Roma é legado en toda España, é abad de San Fagund, . . . este avia nombre D. Fernando, mas esto non lo fallamos en las estorias que los maestros escrebieron, é por ende tenemos que non fué verdad." Another passage from the *Crónica de veinte reyes*, the only compilation in which, so far as the material now accessible to us warrants a judgment, the poetical source is referred to by the singular *cantar* instead of the plural *cantares*, will be discussed later in connection with the romance "Doliente estaba, doliente, ese buen rey don Fernando." From what has already been said it seems manifest that without the support of specific proof in each instance, which has not as yet been produced, it is contrary to the most elementary principles of science to assert, as has been done so freely, that the *cantares* cited by the chroniclers were so many large poems. A serious inquiry should long ago have been made into the question whether the use of minor heroic songs, the existence of which is abundantly documented in the popular tradition of other nations, is not rendered far more probable by known conditions of epic evolution and by the undeniable occurrence, in contemporary Hispanic poetry, of narrative songs of a popular type having some of the essential metrical traits of the romance.⁹¹

As for the term *cantar de gesta* which Menéndez y Pelayo⁹² affirms was applied to large epics, it never occurs in any of the documents so far cited by critics in any but the plural form *cantares de gesta*, and the example adduced by the Spanish critic from Mss. L O of the *General*, p. 351 a 21, is, as we have seen, not a case in

⁹⁰ See Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.* II, p. 334, and note 1. Ms. F—132 of this chronicle, preserved in the *Biblioteca Nacional* at Madrid, does not contain this passage.

⁹¹ See for specific proof of this our next article (III).

⁹² *Antol.* II, p. 13: "No hay duda en cuanto al nombre de estos poemas. Se llamaron *cantares de gesta*, aunque á veces se encuentren separadas ambas palabras." The French expression *chanson de geste* in the sense of a large epic is first met with in a passage (ll. 6678-6679) of Chrestien de Troies' *Erec*, to which Prof. F. M. Warren of Yale called my attention. It is not likely, however, that the form *cantares de gesta* occurring in the *General* was based upon the French *chanson de geste*, and there is, as we have seen, good reason for the opinion that it had a different meaning.

point since the term cannot, without specific proof to the contrary, be interpreted to mean anything more than "songs of heroic deeds."⁹³ The same is true of another passage referring to Bernardo (*General*, 355 b 49); of the injunction quoted above from *Siete Partidas* II, 20, 21, where the obvious sense is "no other songs but those of heroic deeds"; and of the one other instance at present known, "los cantares de las gestas" (*General*, 509 a 37), which explains itself. The only genuine Castilian epic we have, the Poem of the Cid, uses no other term for epic song than *cantar* (l. 2,276),⁹⁴ applied to the second of the three parts into which the author divided his splendid work. The word *gesta* (1085) occurring in the same section is not, as Menéndez Pidal holds with Milá,⁹⁵ synonymous with *cantar*, but signifies, as elsewhere in ancient texts, 'memorable deeds.'⁹⁶ The appearance of these *cantares* of between eleven and fifteen hundred lines may give us an idea of the probable scope of such a *cantar* as the one on the Infantes de Lara, and shows that beginning with the eleventh century there must have been a decided movement towards broader conceptions which, stimulated somewhat later by the powerful intellectual impulse imparted by France, culminated in the Poem of the Cid, the highest and conclusive product of the epic spirit of Castile.

In the thirteenth century, we find *cantar* employed by Alphonse

⁹³ In his glossary to Santillana's work, s. v. *gesta*, Amador de los Ríos says: "Dióse el nombre de *cantares de gesta* á todo linage de poesía histórica, recibéndolo por excelencia los romances heroicos, que constituían la popular." Cf. also the same writer's remarks in *Historia crítica*, 2, pp. 473-475.

⁹⁴ Menéndez Pidal, *Cantar de Mio Cid*, 2, p. 532, defines this term as follows: "Cada una de las largas partes en que se dividía la narración de los poemas épicos cantados por los juglares." This interpretation, taken from Milá, *Poesía heroica*, pp. 396-397, is correct enough for the Poem of the Cid, but what authority is there for saying that the usage in question was general?

⁹⁵ *Poesía heroica*, pp. 242, 468; *Cantar de Mio Cid*, 2, s. v. *gesta*.

⁹⁶ See e. g., *General*, p. 83 b; *Libro de Alexandre*, cop. 3, 309, 719, 943, 2411, 2424; Berceo, *S. Dom.*, 487, 571, 754; Milag., 370; *Sacrif.*, 245; *Canc. Baena*, 554. With the signification of "account of heroic events," *gestas* was apparently used in 1573 by Diego Hurtado de Mendoza with reference to the so-called *Poema de Alfonso Onceno*: "Hallé esse libro, que es de lo que en España llamavan gestas." In the sense of "epic poem," the word *gesta* seems to be used in the well-known parody by the Portuguese Alfonso Lopes de Bayam (*Canc. Vat.*, 1080).

X in his Galician miracle-lays, as No. 172: e desto cantares fezemos que cantassen os jograes, or No. 401:

Macar poucos cantares
acabei e con son,
Uirgen, dos teus miragres,
péço-ch'ora por don
que rogues a teu Fillo etc.⁹⁷

In the fourteenth century, Juan Roiz confesses (c. 1,514) to composing

cantares de los que dizen los ciegos⁹⁸
e para escolares que andan nocherniegos,

which Wolf⁹⁹ was inclined to consider imitations of the popular style.

Finally, at the time of Santillana, Anton de Montoro uses *cantar* with the force of romance:

De arte de ciego juglar
que canta viejas fazañas
que con un solo *cantar*
cala todas las Españas.¹⁰⁰

and a hundred years later, Alonso Tellez de Meneses, in his *Historia del principado del orbe*, t. XIV, testifies to the same usage: ". . . el conde Garci Fernández venció al poderoso Almançor en la gran batalla de Caxcaxares, do le fueron tan buenos los infantes de Lara que, segun dizen hasta hoy los cantares de aquellos tiempos, dezia muchas vezes por ellos el conde: que si por ellos no fuera, no tornaramos aca."¹⁰¹

From what has been said it must be apparent that there is no foundation for the assumption of the Spanish critics that the expression *cantares de gesta* occurring in thirteenth century documents was understood to designate more or less extensive epics, nor

⁹⁷ Cf. also 5, 107, etc.

⁹⁸ See *coplas*, 1710-1728.

⁹⁹ *Studien*, pp. 129, 136-138.

¹⁰⁰ *Cancion. de Anton de Montoro*, Madrid, 1900, p. 277.

¹⁰¹ Ms. of *Bibliot. Nacional*, sign. F-18, fol. 13.

that the singular term *cantar de gesta* was used as the equivalent of the French *chanson de geste*. It, therefore, seems far more reasonable to consider that the *cantares* cited by the *General* and other chronicles as sources of information were minor heroic songs of a character closely akin to, if not substantially identical with, the models of the romances recorded since the days of Rodríguez de la Camara.

Returning now to Santillana's criticism, we may say that by the word *cantares*, as used in it, we need not understand anything more than either a synonym of *romances*,¹⁰² or else lyric songs of a popular character. Which one of these two categories of verse he had in mind, it is hardly possible to determine with absolute certainty. The fact that the narrative lay, from the very nature of the case, clings more than the lyric to primitive conditions, speaks for the first interpretation; but the following considerations may be urged in behalf of the second: To say nothing of the circumstance that elsewhere in his writings Santillana uses *cantar* only in the sense of lyric song, and that the *Prohemio* is chiefly concerned with the history of lyric and allegorical poetry,¹⁰³ one may reasonably doubt that he chose exclusively epic composition for an appropriate contrast with the artificial lyricism of Guido Guinicelli and Arnaut Daniel, disregarding entirely the large body of lyric verse written before and during his own time in courtly imitation of traditional types. An example of his own selection of such models is seen in the *villancico* cited above (p. 308).¹⁰⁴ It would be difficult

¹⁰² Milá, *l. c.*, p. 401, states that the terms *romances* and *cantares* are synonymous in the two passages cited from the *General* and from Santillana. Otherwise, however, the views expressed in this article are entirely at variance with his.

¹⁰³ With the exception of the *romances*, the works of Homer, Ennius and Virgil are the only epic poetry that is at all mentioned in the *Prohemio*. It is worthy of note, however, that in the *Prólogo* to the *Proverbios* (see *Obras*, p. 24) addressed to the Infante D. Enrique, Santillana refers directly to the heroes of the only two Castilian epics we actually have: "E aun sy á vuestra Excellencia place que tanto non nos alonguemos de vuestras regiones é tierras, ayamos memoria del Cid Ruy Diaz é del Conde Fernan Gonzalez."

¹⁰⁴ This seems to have been Baist's understanding when, after copying (*Grundriss*, II, 2, p. 430) the passage in the *Prohemio*, he remarked: "Aber in dem *Villancico* 'Por una gentil floresta' singen seine drei Schönen drei Volksweisen und zuletzt er selbst die vierte." For the traditional character of the *villancico* see e. g., Carolina Michaelis, *Canc. da Ajuda*, 2, pp. 787-791.

to show that his *serranillas*,¹⁰⁵ in some of which he appears truly inspired, rested, as is so commonly supposed, exclusively on Provençal and Galician instead of native Asturian and Castilian patterns, though it cannot be questioned that foreign examples stimulated his interest in what he saw about him. The same is true of Juan Roiz who a century before had caught the note from the shepherdesses of his native mountains.¹⁰⁶ We know from Santillana himself¹⁰⁷ that his grandfather Pero González de Mendoza "usó una manera de decir cantares . . . tambien en *estrambotes* como en *serranas*,¹⁰⁸ and Alfonso Alvarez de Villasandino confesses¹⁰⁹ to having provided the minstrels with songs cast in the traditional lyric type called *estrambote* or *estribote*.¹¹⁰ In the well-known symbolization of the tree of love by Diego Furtado de Mendoza, the father of Santillana, we have a literary handling of the parallelistic type of folksong familiar from the Gallego-Portuguese school,¹¹¹ and testifying to its descent from communal dance and music by its name *cossante*¹¹² as well as by its structure and rhythm:

A aquel arbol, que mueve la foxa,
algo se le antoxa.
Aquel arbol del bel mirar
façe de manyera flores quiere dar:

¹⁰⁵ See *Obras*, pp. 464-478. Another composition in the form of a *serrana*, published by Menéndez Pidal in *Bulletin Hispanique*, 10 (1908), pp. 408-411, from the *Cancionero* 2—F—5 (formerly VII—Y—4) of the Royal Library at Madrid, is of a far more courtly tone.

¹⁰⁶ See Ducamin's ed., *coplas*, 959-971, 987-992, 997-1005, 1022-1042, and cf. Wolf, *Studien*, pp. 116, 457.

¹⁰⁷ *Prohemio*, § XVI.

¹⁰⁸ A stanza of one of these *serranas* is preserved in *Canc. Baena*, no. 252.

¹⁰⁹ *Canc. Baena*, no. 546. See *l. c.*, the poems called *estribote*, nos. 2, 141, 196, 219.

¹¹⁰ On the relation of this type to the French *estrabot*, the Provençal *estribot* and the Italian *strambotto*, see the writer's article in *Scritti vari di filologia e di critica in onore di Rodolfo Renier*, Torino, 1913, pp. 613-621.

¹¹¹ See I, pp. 18-21.

¹¹² Cf. e. g., *Cancion. de A. de Montoro* (Madrid), p. 269: Cantador de cosante; *Cancion. General*, I, no. 125 (p. 302): corsantes; *Crónica de Pero Niño* (ed. Puymaigre, Paris, 1867), p. 351: Muchas danzas e cosantes e chantarelas; Rios, *Historia crítica*, 2, p. 295; *El Hadits* de la Princesa Zoraida, p. 251: Danzaron y cantaron solos y en cosante damas y caballeros. The word is derived from *cosso* = *cursus*, "river-bed"; "racing-course"; "dancing-place."

algo se le antoxa.

Aquel arbol del bel veyer

façe de manera quiere florecer:

algo se le antoxa, etc.¹¹³

From these cases, which are only a few representative specimens of the wealth of material contained in the *cancioneros* and other literary records of the fifteenth century, it must be apparent to every one that the one hundred years preceding the *Prohemio* were marked quite as much by the literary cultivation of the traditional lyric forms as by that of the romance which, from its very nature, itself contains lyric elements.¹¹⁴ On a mere balance of probabilities, therefore, it is permissible to assume that by the expression *cantares* Santillana intended to include in his comment lyric poetry of the character described.

Why, we must now ask, did he define our "*romances é cantares*" as examples of the third, or lowest, grade of literary poesy? Doubtless because in consequence of the simpler, more natural art from which they sprang, and the essential traits of which they could not abandon without loss of identity, they could not conform either in spirit or in metrical structure with the rules of the *Gaya Sciencia* which the illustrious disciple of Dante, as was seen above, looked upon as identical with poesy itself, and which, as he reminds us,¹¹⁵ gained the ascendancy in Castile in the second half of the fourteenth century.¹¹⁶ The frequency with which we find the practitioners of this art accusing each other of ignorance or infraction of precepts like those concerning accent, hiatus, *mançobre* and

¹¹³ Printed by Rios, *l. c.*, pp. 293-294, from fol. 6 v° of the ms. *cancionero* X¹ (2-F-5 = antiguo VII-A-3) of the Royal Library at Madrid.

¹¹⁴ See above, pp. 299-300.

¹¹⁵ *Prohemio*, § XVII.

¹¹⁶ The date of its introduction is indicated by the lost *Reglas de como se debe trobar*, composed by Juan Manuel before 1334. See Baist, *Libro de la Casa*, p. 154, and the present writer in *Revue Hispanique*, 16 (1907), pp. 10-11. Subsequent references to this new art are by Juan Roiz, *Prólogo*, p. 7; in the *Relación de un ermitaño* (1382), in *Bibliot. de Autores españoles*, 57, p. 387, and in some well-known verses of Pero Lopez de Ayala, in *Canc. Baena*, Madrid, 1851, pp. 549-555. In the *Canc. Baena* we find the *gay saber* constantly glorified, as *Prólogo*, p. 9, and nos. 255, 275, 340, 429, 453, 464, 550.

*metro*¹¹⁷ shows how much value was attached to them, and how strong the older current still was.¹¹⁸ Santillana himself forestalls possible censure of his repetition of the same rhymes in his *Proverbios* (1437) by an appeal to the laws of the Consistory of the Gay Science.¹¹⁹ Viewed in the light of its true setting, Santillana's severe judgment assumes a deeper meaning than has commonly been attached to it. While it can hardly be doubted that some of the balladists of his day were of humble origin, it is manifest that the expression *infimos* did not refer to this fact any more than *mediocre* was meant to characterize Guido Guinicelli and Arnaut Daniel as of indifferent social station. It simply described them as engaged in literary work which could not satisfy the rigid formalism of the style cultivated by the comparatively small coterie of intellectuals,¹²⁰ and was consequently of a much lower grade than the *mediocre*, to which latter most of Santillana's own best writing belonged. In all probability, therefore, the Castilian littérateur included in his

¹¹⁷ See e. g., *Prólogo to Proverbios*, § 4; the praise of D. Alfonso in *Comedicta de Ponça*, st. XXVII; and Gomez Manrique, *Cancionero*, 2, p. 155, referring to Juan Poeta:

El no sabe que es acento,
non ditongo nin mançobre.

Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 232-233, what is said about "leyes e reglas de metros."

¹¹⁸ See e. g., *Canc. Baena*, nos. 139, 293, 398, 522, 523; and the debate of Ferrant Manuel de Lando with Villasandino, Juan Alfonso de Baena and others, *l. c.*, nos. 253-275. In a petition to the king, Villasandino begs pardon for non-observance of the rules of the art (no. 210).

¹¹⁹ *L. c.*, § 4 (p. 26). Finding in two previously unpublished poems of Santillana contained in the Ms. *Cancionero* X² (2-F-5, formerly VII-Y-4) of the Royal Library at Madrid impure rhymes like *velos: cabellos, syrva: viuva, Menéndez Pidal* (*Bulletin hispanique*, 10 (1908), p. 410) expresses the opinion that in view of Santillana's technical skill these rhymes must be regarded as mere scribal errors. This is contrary to the well-known fact that the very best poets, both in Castile and elsewhere, resorted to such rhymes. In Santillana's *Proverbios*, to cite only a few instances, we meet (p. 49, st. LIV) with *Vagnes* (for *Evadnes*): *Damnes*; in st. III of his much-quoted *villancico* the ditty inserted rhymes in *pene: delle*. Similar cases might be instanced in abundance from Berceo down to the *Cancionero General*, as may be seen from the present writer's notes in *ROMANIC REVIEW*, 2, p. 341.

¹²⁰ Baist, who nowhere takes account of the communal origin of balladry, remarks (*Grundriss*, II, 2, p. 431): "Der Romanze aber kamen nicht im selben Masse wie den *Cantares* (i. e., those referred to in the passage cited from the *Prohemio*) Musik und Tradition zu Hilfe; wenn wir sie trotzdem die obere Kunstschrift durchbrechen sehen, so zeigt das wie dünn diese noch war."

classification, beside himself, noted singers like Rodriguez de la Camara and Carvajal,¹²¹ Villasandino, Juan Roiz and others, fully as he recognized their literary merit in other respects.¹²² It is furthermore evident that the attribute *sin orden, regla nin cuento*, which Santillana bestows upon these compositions of the third or lowest grade, refers to the absence in them of the metrical artistry of the Gay Science¹²³ and of the Italianate School, and was not, as has too often been taken for granted, intended to mark as irregular the verse of the ballads, and even of the Poem of the Cid.¹²⁴ Santillana knew fully as well as Nebrija and Encina¹²⁵ that the ballad-verse had a regular number of syllables, and it was shown above,¹²⁶ that this was essentially true of the oldest period also. In so far as the syllabic irregularity of a Spanish verse in comparison with foreign metres is concerned, the rhythm of the *verso de arte mayor* would have served him as a far better illustration than the hemistichs of the trochaic tetrameter. It was in passing from the former metre, the only persistent native long-line of Spanish literature, to the Italian hendecasyllable, that the author of the *Prohemio* learned to lay stress on the *cuento de las syllabas* (see above, p. 318, note 117).

Let us now consider the last part of the *Prohemio's* definition in which we are informed that the folk of lowly and menial station take delight in "estos romances é cantares." It is in this clause that the rupture of the intellectual solidarity of the people of the fifteenth century is poignantly expressed. But these words, the deliberate utterance of him who has given us the first critical account of Romance poetry, have still another message for us.

¹²¹ See Baist, *l. c.*, p. 432; Rennert, *Zeitsch. f. rom. Philol.*, 17, pp. 544-558; Pio Rajna, *Mélanges Picot*, 2, pp. 115-134.

¹²² *Prohemio*, §§ XIV and XVI.

¹²³ See Wolf's review of Gatién-Arnoult's edition of the *Leys d'Amors* (*Studien*, pp. 235-270), which is still the best that has been said on this subject.

¹²⁴ An interpretation which is particularly inconsistent with the theory of Menéndez Pidal and others, that the *Poem of the Cid*, in the form in which we have it, had ceased to be sung twenty years before it was copied by Per Abbot (see *Cantar de Mio Cid*, I, p. 29), and that the metre of the romances, while derived from that of the extensive epics, rested on a basis different from that of the original Poem (*l. c.*, pp. 101-103).

¹²⁵ *Gramática castellana* (1492), I, II, cap. VIII; *Arte de trobar*, cap V.

¹²⁶ See I, pp. 1-30; and above, pp. 295-303.

¹²⁷ See I, pp. 20-21.

How did the unlettered community, then even more than to-day by far the largest part of the Spanish nation, come to enjoy songs of this kind? Was it a taste but recently acquired from those who by the writing¹²⁸ of such verse invited Santillana's censure, something like the way in which the *profanum vulgus* of these latter days catches the ephemeral jingle of the concert-hall—a process mistaken by more than one critic for the true genesis of popular song¹²⁹—or like the manner in which, according to Rosenberg,¹³⁰ the good folk of Iceland first learned the art of dancing from Celts landing there in 1200?

Some such interpretation as this will probably be put upon the words of Santillana by those who assert that the form in which the romances first appear in the collections of the fifteenth century and later cannot with any good reason be regarded as appreciably different from the primitive one, and that consequently that century is the time of their true development.¹³¹ But let us observe that our authority does not say that “estos romances é cantares” were composed *in order that* the lowly might take delight in them, in other words, for the benefit of this class of people. What he clearly tells us is that *the songs made by certain poets were*

¹²⁸ This, or “composing,” is unquestionably the meaning of *façer* as used by Santillana in our passage and elsewhere in the *Prohemio*. Thus §1: *Fice buscar é escrevir por orden, segunt que las yo fice, las [cosas] que en este pequeño volumen vos envio: §4: quel primero que fizo rimos é cantó en metro aya sido Moysen. . . . E Salomon metrificados fizo los sus Proverbios.* Cf. also §§ XIII–XX. To render *façer* in our case by *inventer*, as is done in both editions of Fitzmaurice-Kelly's *Littérature espagnole* (pp. 116, 134), is, to say the least, misleading.

¹²⁹ See the opinion of Menéndez Pidal quoted below, under §9 of the discussion of individual ballads, and for an especial defence of this superficial theory the work of J. Meier, *Kunstlieder im Volksmunde*, Halle, 1906.

¹³⁰ Nordboernes Aandsliv fra old-tiden til vore dage, Kjöbenhavn, 1878–1885, II, p. 437 ff.

¹³¹ See e. g., G. Gregory Smith's very shallow book, *The Transition Period*, New York, 1900, pp. 223–227, and also pp. 181–184, and J. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *Littérature espagnole*, 2^e éd., 1913, pp. 132, 134. Being concerned here with the history of the type rather than with that of the earliest text of any one romance in particular, we need not examine in detail the merits of the position taken in the works referred to in this note. Suffice it here to say that its fallacy is apparent to any one familiar with such cases as “Helo, helo, por do viene” (see *Zeitsch. f. rom. Philol.*, 16, pp. 40–89), or the copies of romances prior to those recorded in the collections of 1550, and exhibiting a different form (see e. g., *Antol.* 9, p. 353).

in the manner of those which the humbler orders of society enjoyed singing at their festal gatherings. If this be the correct understanding of the words under discussion, we may accept them as a direct testimony to the existence in the first half of the fifteenth century of a poetic type living in the oral memory of the Spanish folk, and preserved in its choral dance and song in the same way as the same class of poetry perpetuates itself to-day in Asturias, Galicia and Northern Portugal as well as in other parts of Europe, to say nothing of less civilized regions. The earliest "romances é cantares," therefore, which have reached us in script and print, can be regarded as originals only in the sense that they are the first preserved literary redactions of preexisting forms which, from the unconscious character of folksong, were not written down. This view is supported by a number of considerations and facts.

It is obvious that the songs in question would not have been chosen by Santillana for a comparison of merits with the highly wrought lyric style of Italy and Provence and the artistic verse of classical antiquity, if their literary elaboration, instead of being already in vogue, had only just begun in the first third of the fifteenth century; nor is it likely that either Juan Alvarez Gato (d. 1490)¹³² or Nebrija¹³³ and Encina¹³⁴ would have spoken of the romances as an old type in that case. Now, as the first appearance in literature of a new, distinct literary form, and the passing of the anonymous phase, mark not the time when a poetic movement is born, but when it has ripened into a self-conscious art, it follows that the literary production of "estos romances é cantares" documented for the first half of the century of the distinguished Castilian humanist, was the culmination of a poetic development hark-

¹³² *Cancionero inédito de J. A. G.*, Madrid, 1901, p. 16, *Cabo*:

La locura por el seso,
por palacios tristes cuevas,
por lindas canciones nuevas
los romances de Don Bueso;
diéronme por haz en vez,
hiciéronme mill engaños,
algo más de sesenta años
me ponie por ventitres.

¹³³ See above, p. 319, note 125.

¹³⁴ *Arte de trovar*, cap. 7.

ing back to an ancient popular tradition. In this respect, the history of our "romances é cantares" is, as might have been expected by any one, nothing more than a parallel to that of the oldest Provençal and French court-poetry whose earliest extant examples, whether narrative or purely lyric, repose, as Jeanroy and Paris have conclusively shown in their admirable studies,¹³⁵ to a very considerable degree upon an older popular art, the more primitive forms of which must, in more than one instance, be sought in the more archaic tradition of other parts of the Romance domain, particularly in the Gallego-Portuguese lyric. With regard to this latter school, of the close affiliation of which with the metrics of Northern and Central Spain we have already spoken,¹³⁶ it need only be observed here that it presents some typical forms which in some quarters would doubtless be positively declared as original productions of that period if they could not be shown to exist in the poetry of China collected seven hundred years before our era.¹³⁷ It is not necessary to cite other instances, such as the Sicilian Poetic School, in illustration of the evolution of national literary types, under the influence of learned elements, out of a native popular art.

As for specific evidence to the effect that Castilian literature of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is to a large extent undeniably indebted to an ancient Hispanic tradition, we have it, in the first place, in such poetic types as the *serranas*, *villancicos* and *estribotes* mentioned above (pp. 308-316), but especially in the *cos-sante* of Diego Hurtado de Mendoza and the popular distich quoted in the *villancico* of his illustrious son, both of which are found, in identical form, in the archaic Gallego-Portuguese songs recorded two hundred years before. We have it, in the second place, in the *verso de arte mayor*, the importance of which for the history of Castilian poetry has not as yet been duly appreciated.

This metre, a combination, as is well known, of two *versos de redondilla menor*,¹³⁸ appears in the literary records of Castile in the first

¹³⁵ *Origines de la poésie lyrique en France au moyen-âge*, Paris, 1889; and review of this work by G. Paris, under the same title, in *Journal des Savants*, 1891-1892 (reprinted MDCCCXCII, 63 pp.).

¹³⁶ See I, pp. 18-23, and the literature on the subject there referred to.

¹³⁷ See Jeanroy, *l. c.* p. 70; Lang, *Liederbuch*, p. cxcii, and Bausteine *z. rom., Philol.*, 1905, pp. 29-30.

¹³⁸ With regard to the prosody of this verse, see I, pp. 11, 20, and the careful study of Foulché-Delbosc in *Revue hispanique*, 10 (1902), pp. 75-138.

half of the fourteenth century,¹³⁹ and predominates in the more formal and larger poems of the fifteenth. While Pero Lopez de Ayala¹⁴⁰ and the author of the *Danza de la Muerte* still use the older form of the octava, ababbccb, the later writers, and even the one of the *Revelación de un ermitaño* (1382), favor the schemes sanctioned by the Gay Science, chiefly the one in abbaacca.¹⁴¹ As has already been said,¹⁴² the *verso de arte mayor* is in all probability of common origin with a class of twelve syllables cultivated by the Gallego-Portuguese lyricists¹⁴³ and with the *muñeira*-rhythm of modern Galicia and Asturias, forms¹⁴⁴ which in their turn may be akin to a dactylic rhythm occurring in Mozarabic hymns.¹⁴⁵ Its hemistich is used by Alphonse X in miracle-lays¹⁴⁶ which, as will be shown later, structurally differ from the romance-type only in so far as rhyme is employed in them as such, and varies from stanza to stanza;¹⁴⁷ it is also found in romances collected from the oral tradition of Asturia¹⁴⁸ and of the Oriental Jews.¹⁴⁹ In view of the Galician *muñeira*, however, and of its Asturian parallel previously mentioned,¹⁵⁰ the two Asturian ballads on Bueso and the three Jewish pieces may, as Menéndez y Pelayo would have it, be treated as examples of the traditional full line corresponding to the literary *verso de arte mayor*. In his

¹³⁹ It occurs, as Hanssen has pointed out (*Versificación de Juan Manuel*, Santiago, 1902), in the distichs of *Exemplos* XXIX, XXXVIII and XLIV of the *Conde Lucanor*, and in the form of hemistichs, in Juan Roiz, *coplas*, 1022-1042 (*Los metros de Juan Roiz*, 1902, p. 58).

¹⁴⁰ *Rimado de Palacio*, *coplas* 794-829, 834; *Canc. Baena*, no. 518a.

¹⁴¹ Cf. Wolf, *l. c.*, pp. 152, 159, 162, 255-256. This scheme still prevails in the sixteenth century, as in the *Cancionero* of the Toledan poet Sebastian de Horozco (*Sociedad de bibliófilos andaluces*, 1874, pp. 62, 94, 224, 231, 243).

¹⁴² I, pp. 11, 20.

¹⁴³ E. g., *Canc. Vat.*, nos. 466, 958, 963, 1025; *Canc. Col.-Branc.*, nos. 149, 348; Alphonse X, CM, 32, 134. Cf. *Liederbuch*, pp. cxii-cxiv.

¹⁴⁴ Cf. Hanssen, *Zur. span. u. portug. Metrik*, pp. 56-63.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. Hanssen, *l. c.*, pp. 63-64. This rhythm, which Nebrija, *l. c.*, calls *verso adonico*, may also be recognized in the sapphic-adonic stanzas of the Latin hymn on the Cid, composed in the life-time of the hero. See the text in Du Ménil, *Poésies pop. lat. du moyen-âge*, p. 308 f.; Rios, *Historia crítica*, 2, p. 342 f.; and the article by Baist, *Zeitsch. f. rom. Philol.*, 5, p. 69.

¹⁴⁶ CM (= *Cantigas de S. Maria*), nos. 241, 251.

¹⁴⁷ Cf. Wolf, *l. c.*, p. 437.

¹⁴⁸ See J. Menéndez Pidal, *Poesía popular*, nos. xv, xvi; Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.* 10, nos. 16, 17.

¹⁴⁹ *Antol.* 10, pp. 342-349, nos. 48, 51, 52.

¹⁵⁰ I, pp. 11, 20.

study of this long metre,¹⁵¹ in which the related popular types are entirely overlooked, Morel-Fatio remarks that it was abandoned towards the middle of the sixteenth century. This statement is not correct. Though our verse doubtless gave way more and more to the Italian hendecasyllable, it continued for some time to be looked upon as an appropriate measure "para cosas graves e arduas," as Encina expressed it. Thus it is used by Cervantes in the *Galatea* (1585)¹⁵² in a poem of eleven stanzas, with the regular rhyme-scheme abbaacca; by Rengifo (1592),¹⁵³ by Lopez de Ubeda in the *Picara Justina* (1605),¹⁵⁴ who entitles his composition "octavas de arte mayor antigua," but follows Rengifo in the use of the different rhyme-order abababcc;¹⁵⁵ and finally, to omit other instances, by Leandro Fernandez de Moratin (1760-1828) in a poem of fifteen stanzas with the old scheme abbaacca, and written (1797) "en lenguaje y verso antiguo."¹⁵⁶ The *verso de arte mayor*, therefore, was an important element of the artistic poetry of Spain from about the middle of the fourteenth to the middle of the sixteenth century,¹⁵⁷ and continued, in a more restricted way, for a hundred and fifty years longer. Its older and more popular forms reach from the literary verse of the thirteenth century down to the folksong of our own day. In this respect it stands in marked and significant contrast to the double *verso de redondilla mayor*, the Spanish correspondent of the trochaic catalectic tetrameter.¹⁵⁸ Outside of the restored fragments of the *cantar* on the Infantes de Lara¹⁵⁹ and of the Poem of the Cid,¹⁶⁰ the only extant

¹⁵¹ *Romania*, 23, pp. 209-231.

¹⁵² *Biblioteca de Autores españoles*, I, p. 41, bk. III.

¹⁵³ *Arte poetica*, 1592, cap. LIX.

¹⁵⁴ L. III, cap. 4 (*Bibliot. de Aut. esp.*, 33, p. 162).

¹⁵⁵ This scheme is unknown to the *cancioneros* of Baëña, Stufiga, Nieva, and occurs only once in the *Canc. General*, with a different metre (II, *Apénd.*, no. 272).

¹⁵⁶ *Bibl. de Aut. esp.*, 2, p. 582, no. vi. For other examples preceding Moratin's, see Baist, *Grundriss*, II, 2, p. 425, note 3.

¹⁵⁷ Regarding its use in the *Cancionero de Resende*, see C. Michaelis in *Grundriss*, II, 2, p. 273.

¹⁵⁸ See I, p. 23, note 79.

¹⁵⁹ See I, p. 9, and note 19.

¹⁶⁰ See I, p. 13, note 35. As will be shown later, a methodical treatment of the received text will result in some additions to the number of 267 full lines now extant. As for the *Rodrigo*, in which one may recognize some one hundred

specimens of the genuine national epopee of Castile, this long measure is not found employed as the regular form of any class of Spanish poetry. It occurs, as we saw before,¹⁶¹ to some extent among the Alexandrines of the *mester de clerecía* of the thirteenth century, and sporadically in the fourteenth, in the verse of Juan Manuel,¹⁶² Juan Roiz¹⁶³ and Pero López de Ayala,¹⁶⁴ but in this very period it virtually disappears from Spanish poetry, whether literary or popular. This fact is all the more noteworthy as the hemistich of this long line, the octosyllable, is of much greater frequency than the *verso de redondilla menor*, and has remained, as it was of old, the typically national verse of the Peninsula.

How is it that the combination of this octosyllable in what is frequently regarded as the normal romance-line so early lost its hold upon the poetic tradition of Spain? Though brought up by Wolf more than fifty years ago,¹⁶⁵ this important question has been almost entirely ignored since his day. Doubtless because his doctrine regarding the history of epic song in the Peninsula, however sound in many essential points, was by many critics rejected *in toto* on account of his adhesion to what has been termed the Small Song Theory, a theory against the ill-considered and mechanical application of which a sharp reaction was already under way at his time. But the abuse of a theory is no sufficient reason for discarding the theory itself. In the light of modern research, both literary and ethnological, the idea that the large poem can, as Comparetti expressed it,¹⁶⁶ "only be the outcome of an ulterior phase of art which itself is developed organically from a preceding phase, with new forms and style proportioned to the nature of the new work, form and style being also developed from foregoing ele- and fifty double octosyllables, it is not an epic poem in the true sense of the term, but a learned cento of diverse epic materials. Cf. e.g., Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.* II, pp. 337, 343.

¹⁶¹ See I, pp. 14-16, 24; and above, pp. 298-299.

¹⁶² The distichs of *exemplos* II, 16 in the *Conde Lucanor*. Cf. Hanssen, *Versificación de Juan Manuel*.

¹⁶³ *Coplas* 74, 76, 78, and intermittently elsewhere.

¹⁶⁴ Quatrains 708-710, 780-783, 840-841. The metre of 1291-1298 = *Canc. Baena*, 518b (p. 555), is open to question.

¹⁶⁵ *L. c.*, pp. 411-425.

¹⁶⁶ *The Traditional Poetry of the Finns. Translated by I. M. Anderton. With introduction by Andrew Lang.* Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1898, pp. 353-354.

ments," this idea, we say, is no longer a critics' quarrel, but an indisputable scientific fact.¹⁰⁷ From it the question raised by Wolf receives new significance, especially because, as we shall see, during the past few decades the number of extensive Castilian epics has been increased in inverse ratio to the evidence available. If, instead of the one large Poem on the Cid which we actually have, and the epics on the Infantes de Lara and Fernan Gonzalez, the existence of which there is some reason to infer, Castile possessed not less than sixteen more on other subjects,¹⁰⁸ produced between 1000 and 1200, besides recasts of some of these falling within the period from 1200 to 1450,¹⁰⁹ how is it, one naturally asks, that the vigor of epic activity and artistic life implied in such generous production failed so utterly to establish the epic long verse in the metrical practice of the nation? To come to concrete cases, how is it that the *Poema de Alfonso XI*, written before 1350 by a witness of the victory of the Salado (1340), though a work of literary character, is composed in quatrains of octosyllables (abab), not in the

¹⁰⁷ As such it is accepted by the most eminent and independent modern investigators, such as G. Paris, *Romania*, 13, 617-618; *Histoire poétique de Charlemagne*, p. 2 f.; Gustav Meyer, *Essays u. Studien*, p. 311; Nigra, *Canti Popolari del Piemonte*, 1888, pp. xviii-xx. G. Finsler, *Homer. Erster Teil: Der Dichter und seine Welt. Zweite Auflage*, Leipzig, 1913, p. 66, says: "Nun ist die Ilias, wie noch genauer darzulegen ist, mit Benutzung vorhandener Epen nach einheitlichem Plane verfasst," and p. 410: "Ein sicheres Resultat Chadwicks (*The Heroic Age*, Cambridge, 1912) ist, dass zwischen dem Einzellied und dem grossen Epos eine Entwicklung liegt, wie er sie auf germanischem Boden nachgewiesen hat. Diese müssen wir auch bei Homer suchen. Dass zwischen der mykenischen und der homerischen Kultur eine solche Entwicklung liegen muss, geht aus Drerups Darlegungen hervor, ja er gibt zu, dass Homer archaisiere." The same position is taken in the works of Bücher and Gummere previously quoted.

¹⁰⁸ Confining ourselves for illustration to Menéndez y Pelayo's presentation of the matter (*Antol.* 11 and 12), we note, (11, 157-160) not only one, but several large epics on King Rodrigo: (197-208) three or more on Bernardo del Carpio (cf. above, pp. 13-15), (225-226) one or more on Fernan Gonzalez not utilized by the chronicles, and (p. 235) one used by the chronicle of 1344; (242) one on the Infante Garci Fernandez; (251) one on the Infante Sancho García; (252, cf. above, pp. 9-11) one on the Infante García; (333-334) one on Fernando I; (334-335) one on the siege of Zamora and one on the *mocedades* of the Cid, known as "El Rodrigo"; (12, pp. 21-22) one on Albar Fañez; (46-47) one on Los caballeros Hinojosas; (74-75), one on Abbot Juan de Montemayor; (321) several on the Carolingian cycle.

¹⁰⁹ (*Antol.* 11, 273) two recasts of the epic on the Infantes de Lara; (321) one of the Cid-poem (cf. above, p. 311, note 83); one of the *Rodrigo*.

long line?¹⁷⁰ How is it, again, that what are considered the oldest romances are not preserved in the sixteen-syllable, but in separate octosyllables with alternate assonance (abcb)?

Do the written and printed texts in which the romances are handed down to us represent their metrical character in its integrity? It is manifest that this question must be conclusively answered in the negative before any proposition to alter the received text can be entertained. While it is true that critical editions are still wanting for most of the texts involved, it must be admitted that this defect is largely offset in our case by the practically complete accord of all the extant material with regard to the metrical form which interests us here. We are therefore fully justified in accepting this form as the one intended by the writers to whose redactions we are indebted for the existing examples of the traditional ballad.

Fully aware of the fact that Castile did not produce the number of large poems necessary to account for all of the extant historical romances, Baist advances the theory that the latter drew their legendary matter from the chronicles,¹⁷¹ their metrical form from the epic,¹⁷² forgetting his assertion¹⁷³ that the original metre of the Castilian epic was the French Alexandrine, not the indigenous trochaic tetrameter. As a well-trained critic, however, he recognizes with Wolf and others that it was not the sixteen-syllable as such, no matter how admissible theoretically, but its broken form with assonance in the alternate *versos de redondilla mayor*, that dominated the metrical practice of the time of Juan Rodriguez de la Cámara.¹⁷⁴ Not so the Spanish school of criticism. As this

¹⁷⁰ Note the remark of Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.* II, p. 9: "Al siglo XIV corresponde una interesante muestra de octosílabos encadenados, que no sólo por el metro, sino por el estilo narrativo, tiene cierta semejanza con los romances . . . el poema ó crónica rimada de Alfonso XI." This reminds one of Milá y Fontanals, *Compendio del Arte Poética*, Barcelona, 1844, p. 115. Somewhat different, but hardly more accurate are the statements of Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *l. c.*, pp. 64 and 113.

¹⁷¹ *Grundriss f. rom. Phil.*, II, 2, p. 399.

¹⁷² *L. c.*, p. 432.

¹⁷³ See above, pp. 300-301.

¹⁷⁴ *Grundriss*, p. 431: "Theoretisch ist das Mass der romanische Vierzehnsilbner, im Gesang aber und in der Empfindung des 15. Jhs. werden daraus zwei Kurzverse; Melodien und meist auch handschriftliche Abtheilung entsprechen der seit Encina giltigen Theorie."

school, contrary to all evidence, contends that the trochaic sixteen-syllable only came into being in the course of the fourteenth century¹⁷⁵ when, according to its doctrine, the large epic was being abandoned by the higher classes to the rest of the people in the fragmentary form of lays known as romances,¹⁷⁶ it is forced to the assumption that these small epico-lyric songs must have been the ones to employ the new long metre as such.¹⁷⁷ It is thus that Menéndez y Pelayo, both in his reprint of Wolf's *Primavera*¹⁷⁸ and in his edition of *Romances populares recogidos de la tradicion oral*,¹⁷⁹ replaced the octosyllable of his sources by the long line, applying this uncritical procedure even to the short verses of the *danza prima* ballad assigned to two distinct choruses,¹⁸⁰ to the Jewish lay "Ya vino el niño" whose refrain is thus obscured,¹⁸¹ and to other compositions of similar structure.¹⁸² His reasons are stated as follows:¹⁸³ "La costumbre de escribir separados los octosílabos fué introducida en los romances de trovadores, y sin duda por influencia lírica, pero la unidad del primitivo verso está atestiguada por los más antiguos tratadistas, así de gramática como

¹⁷⁵ Milá y Fontanals, *Poesía heroica*, pp. 398, 406-408; Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.* 11, pp. 82, 94-95, 127 (see above, pp. 1-6); Menéndez Pidal, *Cantar de Mio Cid*, 1, pp. 83-85, 102-104 (see I, pp. 1-14, and above, pp. 295-300). According to the last named scholar, no definite metre is discoverable even in the extant redaction of the *Rodrigo* assigned by him to the fifteenth century (*Cantar de Mio Cid*, 1, p. 85; *Épopée*, p. 137), while Menéndez y Pelayo (*Antol.* 11, p. 90) says: "Así como la métrica del *Poema del Cid* hace el efecto de un mester de clerecía incipiente, la del *Rodrigo* deja la impresión de una serie de romances, informes y tosquísimos."

¹⁷⁶ Milá y Fontanals, *Observaciones sobre la poesía popular*, etc., Barcelona, 1853, pp. 7-8, 56; *Poesía heroica*, pp. 400-401; Menéndez y Pelayo, *l. c.*, pp. 9, 39-40, 45-46; Menéndez Pidal, *Leyenda*, pp. 37-46; *Épopée*, pp. 157-158; *Romancero español*, pp. 5, 8-10; Morf, *Deutsche Rundschau*, 1900, p. 393.

¹⁷⁷ Menéndez Pidal, *Leyenda*, pp. 416-417; *Épopée*, p. 163; *Romancero*, p. 17: "Los cantares de gesta eran . . . escritos en metro largo é irregular, predominando los versos de catorce sílabas y más tarde los de diez y seis. . . Los romances están compuestos en versos largos de diez y seis sílabas." Cf. also *Homenaje*, 1, p. 453, and Morf, *l. c.*

¹⁷⁸ *Antol.*, volumes 8 and 9.

¹⁷⁹ *L. c.*, vol. 10.

¹⁸⁰ See I, p. 19, and note 61; *Antol.* 10, pp. 79-82.

¹⁸¹ *L. c.*, p. 342, no. 49. See *Revue des Études juives*, vol. 33, p. 138.

¹⁸² *L. c.*, p. 76, no. 24; p. 87, no. 29; p. 102, no. 37; p. 103, no. 38; p. 116, no. 44; p. 124, no. 48; p. 180, no. 15.

¹⁸³ *Antol.* 11, pp. 91-92.

de música."¹⁸⁴ With Milá y Fontanals,¹⁸⁵ to whom he clings here as elsewhere, Menéndez y Pelayo thereupon cites Nebrija (1492) and the treatises on music by Narvaez (1538) and F. de Salinas (1577).

As appears from this, the eminent investigator saw that the metrical form of the romances as transmitted to us was the one chosen by the poets themselves in obedience to a prevailing literary ideal; unfortunately, however, he failed to see that for this very reason it was as final as the authentic form of all artistic work is,¹⁸⁶ and that consequently he had no right to modify it. A more careful study of the evidence available since the time of Wolf might have made this clear to him.

It is true that Nebrija¹⁸⁷ gives us, in the form of long lines, passages from two romances, and defines this metre as follows: "El tetrametro yámbico que llaman los latinos octonario é nuestros poetas pié de romance, tiene regularmente diez é seis sílabas: é llamaronlo tetrametro, porque tiene quatro assientos; octonario, porque tiene ocho pies, como en este romance antiguo," etc. It is evident, however, from his very terminology that Nebrija was interested in scholastic tradition quite as much as in the actual facts in the case. His theoretical preoccupation becomes still more apparent from the passage where, after speaking of the verse of eight syllables with its *pié quebrado*, of the verses of twelve and sixteen syllables, he says: "Estos quatro generos de versos llamanse *iambicos* porque en el latin en los lugares pares donde se hazen los assientos principales: por fuerza han de tener el pie que llamamos *iambo*. Y porque nosotros no tenemos sílabas luengas e breves: en lugar de los iambos pusimos spondeos." Instructive as Nebrija's

¹⁸⁴ *Antol.* II, pp. 91-92.

¹⁸⁵ *Poesía heroica*, p. 401, and note 2. In his *Compendio del Arte poética* (Barcelona, 1843), pp. 49-52, however, Milá regarded the separate octosyllable with assonance in the even lines as the regular form of the romance, not mentioning the verse of sixteen syllables at all.

¹⁸⁶ The failure to see this is all the more remarkable as this same school of critics bases its theory of the original irregularity of the epic metre of Castile upon no better ground than the admittedly disordered text of the *Poem of the Cid* which has no other warrant than the late and unique copy of Per Abbat. See I, pp. 1-30.

¹⁸⁷ *Gramática castellana*, I, 2, cap. VIII. Cf. also cap. X. The first passage is copied in Wolf's *Studien*, p. 448. Nebrija's whole work is now accessible in the excellent fac-simile edition by E. Walberg, Halle, 1909.

doctrine is in many respects, it is no more sufficient to counterbalance the almost unanimous testimony of the literary record of his time than it is to show that the national metre of Spain was iambic instead of trochaic.¹⁸⁸ No better is the authority of Salinas on this point.¹⁸⁹ In the seventh book of his treatise *De Musica* this writer discusses the manner in which the two parts of a tetrameter can be equalized, but he nowhere says anything permitting the inference that in his judgment the metrical form of the romances was the long line as such, instead of the transmitted division of it into two short verses. On the contrary, the fact that the initial lines of three romances cited by him appear in octosyllables,¹⁹⁰ indicates clearly that he recognized this as the normal form of the poetical type in question. Menéndez y Pelayo entirely overlooked the more explicit opinion expressed upon our subject by two contemporaries of Nebrija, the much-cited Santillana and Juan del Encina.¹⁹¹ After speaking, in his *Prohemio*,¹⁹² of the foreign metres and strophic forms employed by the Catalans and Valencians on the one hand, and the Castilians on the other, the Spanish Maecenas informs us that "esta arte que mayor se llama, e el arte comun" had been cultivated in Galicia and Portugal earlier than in any other part of Spain, so much so that until not long ago all *trobadors* of Castile, Andalusia and Estremadura had composed their work in the Galician or Portuguese language. From this we see that Santillana, who admits not having read any compositions of the Portuguese school himself, knew of only two native metres, the *verso de arte mayor* and the *verso de arte comun* or octosyllable. Still more direct is the utterance of Encina. In the fifth chapter of his *Arte de trobar* he says: "Hay en nuestro vulgar

¹⁸⁸ Considering the position taken by Menéndez y Pelayo, one does not understand why (*Antol.* 9, p. 257) he changed the initial long verses of the Lancelotballad as cited by Nebrija to hemistichs, nor why (*l. c.*, 12, p. 356) he said: "De estos cantares [carolingios], que sólo podemos apreciar ya en su forma definitiva de hemistiquios octonarios, pero que pasarían, sin duda, por un período de irregularidad ó incertidumbre métrica, . . . conservó la memoria popular los episodios más interesantes."

¹⁸⁹ The work of Luis de Narvaez has not been accessible to the present writer thus far.

¹⁹⁰ So quoted by Menéndez y Pelayo himself (*Antol.* 9, p. 258).

¹⁹¹ Both carefully consulted by Wolf, *l. c.*, pp. 151, 193, 412-413, 452-453, 696.

¹⁹² § XIV.

castellano dos géneros de versos ó coplas. El uno quando el pie consta de ocho sillabas ó su equivalencia que se llama arte real.¹⁰³ El otro quando se compone de doze ó su equivalencia que se llama arte mayor." This positive statement with regard to the metres in actual use in the fifteenth century is confirmed by one shortly to be cited concerning the strophic form of the romances. It is in entire accord with the opinion of Alonso Lopez Pinciano, the deliberate partisan of classicism, who in his *Philosophia antiqua poetica*, composed a hundred years after Encina's treatise, enumerates¹⁰⁴ as the four old Castilian metres the verses of four, six, eight and twelve syllables, and observes¹⁰⁵ with reference to the last named "a estas (*sc.* doze sylabas) diria yo verso, ó metro heroyco de mejor gana, y con mas justa razon que no al Italiano endecasylabo suelto, que se ha alçado con nombre de verso heroyco." If the line of sixteen syllables had been the regular metre of the romances, why should both Encina and Alonso Lopez have failed to take account of it? To cite one more witness, Juan de la Cueva, the contemporary of Alonso Lopez, mentions in his versified treatise on dramatic art¹⁰⁶ "el trocaico verso que es el nuestro" as the measure of the *coplas redondillas* and the romances.¹⁰⁷ As is well known, the historical romance, and notably its metrical structure, became one of the most important formative elements of the Spanish *comedia*.¹⁰⁸ Had the long verse of sixteen syllables as such been its essential form, it would certainly have to be explained why it never appears in the drama, especially in plays of tragic character, instead of the signally inappropriate short verse with alternate assonance.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰³ As is well known, the terms *arte comun* and *arte real* both designate the *verso de redondilla mayor* or octosyllable.

¹⁰⁴ *Epistola*, VII, p. 283 (ed. of 1596).

¹⁰⁵ *L. c.*, p. 286.

¹⁰⁶ See E. Walberg's excellent edition: *Juan de la Cueva et son "Exemplar poético,"* in vol. 39 of *Acta Universitatis Lundensis*, 1904.

¹⁰⁷ *L. c.*, *Epistola*, II, ll. 40-150.

¹⁰⁸ Cf., among others, Menéndez Pidal, *Épopée*, p. 215: "Tandis que les anciennes comédies, alors même qu'elles imitaient les romances, en faisaient disparaître la gracieuse fraîcheur en les délayant . . . , Lope, qui en a enrichi considérablement la métrique dramatique, a usé largement du vers de romance."

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Morel-Fatio, *La comédie espagnole du XVII^e siècle*, Paris, 1885, p. 27: "L'emploi d'une versification plus lyrique que dramatique et qu'on ne doit pas hésiter à qualifier de puérile."

It was seen above that Menéndez y Pelayo ascribed the so-called substitution of two hemistichs for the full tetrameter line in the romances to the influence of lyric poetry. By this lyric factor he doubtless meant the Castilian court-lyric flourishing from 1350 to 1500, the period in which the disciples of Milá place the rise of the romance type out of the degenerate large epic. Is this explanation sufficient? It accounts neither for the form of the *Poema de Alfonso Onceno* composed in the days when the Castilian court still listened to the accords of the Portuguese lyre,²⁰⁰ nor for the structure of the one hundred and eighty miracle-lays of Alphonse X whose controlling principle is the octosyllable with alternate rhyme. The two points wherein these spiritual ballads deviate from the romance-type as commonly understood are the employment of rhyme instead of assonance and the variation of rhyme from stanza to stanza. These differences may have been due respectively to the influence of hymnal poetry²⁰¹ and to the tradition of the single-rhymed tetrastich or *tirade* with varying rhyme or assonance which we find in mediaeval Latin poetry²⁰² and in the secular verse of popular origin cultivated by the Gallego-Portuguese lyrists.²⁰³ The refrain which characterizes the religious lays attributed to Alphonse X and the *cantares* of identical structure composed by Castilian and Portuguese *trobadores*²⁰⁴ testifies to their being based upon a traditional model of lyrico-epic song, it having been abundantly proved by literary and ethnological research that the refrain is an organic element of ballad-poetry, representing, as Gummere observes,²⁰⁵ the original choral song of the community. In their use of short lines with alternate rhyme or assonance, Alphonse X and other poets of his day likewise obeyed an ancient tradition. As Du Méril²⁰⁶

²⁰⁰ See I, p. 21, notes 67 and 68.

²⁰¹ Cf. Wolf, l. c., p. 437.

²⁰² Cf. Diez, *Altrom. Sprachdenkmale*, pp. 86-89.

²⁰³ Examples of this class are, e. g., *Canc. Vat.*, nos. 321, 414.

²⁰⁴ E. g., *Canc. Vat.*, nos. 230, 234, 258, 300, 352, 417, 724, 730, 738, 785, 892, 897, 1055, 1151; *Canc. Colocci-Brancuti*, nos. 276, 431.

²⁰⁵ *Beginnings of Poetry*, p. 314. Cf. also the same author's work, *The Popular Ballad*, 1907, pp. 36 f., 76 f., 133 f., and G. L. Kittredge, *English and Scotch Ballads*, Boston and New York, 1904, p. xxi.

²⁰⁶ *Poésies pop. lat. antérieures au XII^{me} siècle*, Paris, 1843, pp. 132-133, citing Beda, *De arte metrica*, col. 41. Cf. W. Meyer aus Speyer, *Gesammelte Schriften*, I, pp. 204, 213-214, 240, etc.

pointed out in 1843, and Wolf, among others, repeated,²⁰⁷ the metrists of the eighth century spoke of the trochaic tetrameter as though it consisted of two independent verses. From every point of view, then, it is apparent that the above-mentioned sacred and secular poems of the thirteenth century were cast in the mould of a pre-existent popular form to which our romance-type must have been closely related. So long as their verse-structure as handed down in the extant manuscripts²⁰⁸ is not conclusively shown to be unauthentic, it must be accepted as authoritative for the metrical tradition of the time,²⁰⁹ and as in itself a sufficient proof that the verse-form in which the romances have reached us is the correct and original one.²¹⁰

But there is more. In a paragraph duly considered by Wolf,²¹¹ but disregarded by Menéndez y Pelayo²¹² and those who follow him, Juan de la Encina²¹³ gives us valuable information respecting the musical division of the romances: "Y aun los romances suelen yr de quatro en quatro pies: aunque no van en consonante sino el segundo y el quatro pie, y aun los del tiempo viejo no van verdaderos consonantes, y todas estas cosas suelen ser de arte real, que el arte mayor es mas propia para cosas graves y arduas." From this statement which, as Baist observes,²¹⁴ is in entire accord with the melodies of the *Cancionero Musical*, we learn that not only the romances of the sixteenth century, but also those preceding the days of Encina were sung in *cuartetas* of octosyllables with alternate rhyme or assonance. Here again the metrical tradition of Encina is in consonance with that of Alphonse X. In the repeatedly cited miracle-lays ascribed to this poet, the same kind of quatrain appears both singly, in the function of refrain, and jointly with another, as

²⁰⁷ *L. c.*, p. 429. Cf. Jeanroy, *Origines*, pp. 347-349, 377.

²⁰⁸ See for these, and for editions of their contents, *Grundriss f. rom. Philol.*, II, 2, pp. 184-185, note 6.

²⁰⁹ This was done by so circumspect a critic as A. Mussafia in his study on Old Portuguese metrics in *Denksch. d. Kais. Akad. d. Wissensch., Hist.-Phil. Kl.*, vol. 133 (Wien, 1905), p. 20 f. of reprint.

²¹⁰ It need hardly be said that this is not to mean that the long verse as such was never employed in any but large epic poems.

²¹¹ *Primavera y Flor*, I, p. xviii; *Studien*, pp. 452-453.

²¹² As he translated Wolf's Introduction to the *Primavera* in his *Antología*, 8, pp. xiii-lxxxvi, it must have been known to him.

²¹³ *L. c.*, cap. 7.

²¹⁴ *Grundriss f. rom. Philol.*, II, 2, p. 432.

part of the strophe of eight octosyllables. The refrain of No. 221 may serve as illustration for the present:

Ben per está aos reis
d'amaren Santa Maria,
ca en as mui grandes coitas
ela os acorr' aginna.²¹⁵

In the stanza of eight short verses, this quatrain is treated with the freedom characteristic of the literary writer. Not to mention the occurrence of two blank octosyllables in succession,²¹⁶ and of synaloephe between two hemistichs, pointing to the practice of forming long lines,²¹⁷ we meet with half-lines separated by a pause longer than the one regularly occurring between the second and third verse of the tetrastich,²¹⁸ and also with syntactical overlapping from the fourth to the fifth verse of the octave.²¹⁹ Such cases of conflict between the grammatical and the musical division of the strophe are examples of the subordination of the former to the poet's thought, a phenomenon which may be noticed anwhere in literary verse. Even if they were far more numerous than they actually are, there would be no warrant for the inference that the stanza of four lines existed in music before it did in versification.²²⁰ As well might one argue that the infractions of the syntactical unity of the hemistichs of the decasyllable in the *Chanson de Roland*²²¹ prove that this unity was only just forming. Hanssen²²² is there-

²¹⁵ Variant: *e guia* for *aginna*. Other refrains of the same structure are found, e. g., in nos. 13, 15, 33-35, 43, 45, 189.

²¹⁶ E. g., no. 151. Cf. Mussafia, *l. c.*, pp. 14-16, and the note on p. 14.

²¹⁷ E. g., no. 224. Cf. Mussafia, *l. c.*, pp. 16-17, 23, 32-33.

²¹⁸ E. g., no. 6, st. 7, ll. 5-6; st. 11, ll. 5-6.

²¹⁹ E. g., no. 6, st. 1, 10, 11.

²²⁰ Thus Hanssen (*Notas*, p. 31), without any basis in fact, asserts: "Las estrofas de cuatro versos existieron en la música antes de aparecer en la versificación [de los romances]."

²²¹ See Reissert, *Die syntakt. Behandlung des Zehnsilbigen Verses im Alexius- und Rolandsliede*, Marburg, 1884; and Stengel, *Grundriss f. rom. Philol.*, II, 1, pp. 52-54. Cf. similar instances of enjambement cited by the writer in *Liederbuch des Königs Denis*, pp. cxxiii-cxxiv.

²²² *L. c.*: "A pesar de que [los antiguos romances] se cantaban por cuartetos, no fué necesario que el número de los versos fuese divisible por cuatro. Tampoco fué necesario que coincidiesen los incisos gramaticales con los musicales. . . . Esta contradicción se explica precisamente por el orijen de los romances. Se cantaron las series monorrimas de las Jestas, que no conocian ninguna subdivisión, con melodias de procedencia agena."

fore entirely wrong in regarding similar instances of conflict observed by him in the old romances as a result of the alleged origin of this poetic type from large epics. Apart from the fact that no such sweeping conclusion can properly be drawn from comparatively infrequent irregularities²²³ naturally explained by the literary character of our extant romances, we must consider that the metrical structure of the quatrain under discussion is much older and more widely diffused than Hanssen and others suppose. As we have seen, it was known in the thirteenth century. Though not so prominent in the verse of that period as the distich, to which it is genetically related, it must have been firmly established in poetical tradition, as is shown by its frequent use as refrain by Alphonse X, and also by its survival as the typical form of the popular lyric of Spain and Portugal of to-day.

As a rule, the first two octosyllables of the modern quatrain are still divided from the last two by a pause, the first distich containing a nature-image, the second an antithetical soul-image. Thus in the following *requiebro*:

En un canasto de flores
se enseñorea una rosa;
y entre todas las mujeres
eres tú la más hermosa.²²⁴

or in the taunt of a Portuguese lover:

Candeia que não dá luz,
não se espeta na parede;
o amor que não é firme,
não se faz cabedal d'elle.²²⁵

Even the images contrasted in the last example find their parallel in a pantun of the Malay race, in whose love-poetry the quatrain is also common:

Apa guna pasang pâlita
Jika tiayda dângân sumbuña;

²²³ Cf. Baist, *l. c.*, II, 2, p. 432.

²²⁴ F. Rodríguez Marin, *Cantos pop. esp.*, Sevilla, 1882-1883, 2, no. 1191.

²²⁵ Collected from the tradition of the Azores.

Apa guna barmayin

Kalu tiyada dangân sunguñia.²²⁶

Important as are the history and distribution of the various forms of this lyric type, we cannot go any further into its discussion here. Suffice it to mention briefly the Germanic *schnadahüpfel*²²⁷ which accords with the Hispanic *copla* and *quadra* both as to metrical structure and antithesis of thought; the ancient Chinese tetrastich,²²⁸ agreeing more especially with regard to the second point; the quatrains of Italy²²⁹ and Greece,²³⁰ conforming with respect to the first; and the stanzas of the Indian collection known as the *Saptaçatakam* dating from the seventh century of our era.²³¹ For details the reader may be referred to the excellent studies on this subject by G. Meyer²³² and F. B. Gummere.²³³ There are those who would see in the *schnadahüpfel* the result of the dissolution of continuous polystrophic poems into independent quatrains. As in the case of the romances, this theory not only lacks the support of sufficient evidence, but may, with G. Meyer,²³⁴ be definitely rejected from the comparative point of view. Equally untenable is the position of those who trace the similarity of forms occurring in many countries to the borrowing of one people from another instead of accepting the doctrine established by modern scientific research that such similarity is as a rule due to spontaneous and independent creation in divers races having similar habits of thought.

The quatrain, then, is one of the oldest, and most common poetic

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"What is the use of lighting a lamp,
If it be without a wick?
What is the use of playing with the eyes
If you be not in earnest?"

See J. Crawford, *Grammar and Dictionary of the Malay Language*, I, p. 84. For further examples, see e. g., the same author's *History of the Indian Archipelago*, Edinburgh, 1820, 2, pp. 48-49.

227 See G. Meyer, *Essays u. Studien*, pp. 317-331.

228 See J. Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, London, 1871, vol. iv, Pt. 1, Bk. i, odes 6, 7, 9; Bk. ii, 9, 13; iii, 7, 8, 12; iv, 5, 7; v, 7, 9; vi, 16; viii, 7; x, 11; xv, 5 (including only instances of parallelism between nature and soul-image).

229 See Nigra, *Canti popolari del Piemonte*, pp. xxi-xxii.

230 See G. Meyer, *l. c.*, p. 368.

231 See A. Weber, *Saptaçatakam*, Leipzig, 1881; G. Meyer, *l. c.*, pp. 289-308.

232 *L. c.*, pp. 332-376.

233 *Beginnings of Poetry*, pp. 200, 213, 403-419.

234 *L. c.*, pp. 365, 375. Cf. Gummere, *l. c.*, pp. 403-404, 414-418.

types of popular origin. It is doubtless from it that various literary stanzas, such as the single-rhyme tetrastich of mediaeval Latin, and French and Spanish poetry,²³⁵ are derived. As an essential element of the above-mentioned spiritual lays of Alphonse X and of our romances, this ancient strophic form proves by itself that the normal metre of the romance was no other than the *verso de redondilla mayor* with alternate assonance or rhyme,²³⁶ and argues forcibly against the theory that the romances as a distinct poetic type are remnants of large poems composed in the verse of sixteen syllables.

We may safely affirm, therefore,²³⁷ that outside of what we actually have of the genuine epic of Castile, such as the Poem of the Cid, the full tetrameter line was not used as the regular metre of any class of Spanish poetry. This is particularly significant in view of the fact that assonance maintained itself in the romances written in the epoch of Santillana as a characteristic feature, resisting the strong influence of the contemporary court-lyric²³⁸ with a power which it could only have obtained from the old and vigorous tradition of lyric and narrative song in the Northwestern and Central part of the Peninsula.²³⁹ Now, few will contend that the verse of sixteen syllables would have disappeared as early and completely as it did, without hardly a flicker of it even in the more elaborate Carlovingian romances, which were probably the first to be recorded in writing, if its use had been rooted in such abundant practice as would be implied in the creation of a considerable number of large epics extending from 1000 to 1450.²⁴⁰ The natural conclusion from

²³⁵ Cf. Diez, *Altromanische Sprachdenkmale*, p. 86 ff.; Wolf, *l. c.*, p. 431 ff.; Du Ménil, *Poésies popul. lat. antérieures au XII^e siècle*, pp. 186-187. Cf. also G. Paris, *Romania*, 13, pp. 617-620.

²³⁶ Cf. Baist, *l. c.*, p. 431: "Romance bezeichnet ein volkstümliches, meist erzählendes Gedicht in Tiradenform, im Masse der *redondilla mayor*, die geraden Verse assonierend oder reimend, die ungeraden blank."

²³⁷ See above, pp. 324-325.

²³⁸ Cf. Baist, *l. c.*, p. 431: "In der Romanze ist sie (i. e., die Assonanz) das entschieden ursprüngliche; es musste ein starkes Gegengewicht vorhanden sein, um in der Nachahmung der Kuntsdichter schliesslich statt des Reimes diese theoretisch niedrige, ja unverständliche Form durchzusetzen."

²³⁹ See I, pp. 18-23.

²⁴⁰ See Menéndez Pidal, *Leyenda*, pp. 37-40; Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.* 10, 59: "En tiempo de D. Sancho III la epopeya castellana estaba ya formada, y seguramente existían cantares de Bernardo," etc., a statement which is not even in accord with Milá y Fontanals' opinion (*Poesía heroica*, pp. 163-167, 400).

this is either that Castile produced very much less than the sixteen or more extensive works assumed by Menéndez y Pelayo and others,²⁴¹ or else that these were written in an altogether different metre.

The second alternative, which renders the hypothesis of the derivation of the metrical form of the romances from that of the epics even more absurd than it already is, but to which the Spanish critics nevertheless adhere, was disproved above;²⁴² we must consequently accept the first alternative, and this all the more so as it is confirmed by several other considerations. In the first place we have, as a matter of fact, apart from the Poem of the Cid, only partially restored fragments of one other genuine popular epic, the one on the Infantes de Lara,²⁴³ and it should be clearly borne in mind that the existence of the other sixteen or more conjectured poems has not so far been demonstrated in any way whatsoever. Without such proof, however, it is manifestly contrary to all scientific principles to use them as the basis of a theory of epic origins. In the second place, the production of some of these poems must, as has already been said,²⁴⁴ be regarded as entirely out of the question for the reason that heroic tradition requires for its preservation almost immediate fixation in poetic form, that this particular form can no more be that of a large epic than the growth of an oak begins from the top instead of from the root,²⁴⁵ and that such an epic, even though not nearly so long as the *Chanson de Roland*, presupposes a degree of artistic advance entirely incompatible with the political and social conditions of Castile in the period of such personages as King Rodrigo, Bernardo del Carpio and the Infante D. Garcia. In his judicious remarks on this point,²⁴⁶ Morel-Fatio

²⁴¹ See above, p. 326.

²⁴² See I, and above, pp. 295-300.

²⁴³ See I, pp. 8-9.

²⁴⁴ See above, pp. 305-311.

²⁴⁵ It is true that, as G. Paris observes (*Romania*, 13, p. 617), "once a large epic has been composed, it is natural that other poems of the same character should be produced as such when they are adaptations to a new hero of themes furnished by the anterior epos"; but such cases do not affect the question before us.

²⁴⁶ *Romania*, 26, p. 312, in a review of Menéndez Pidal's *Leyenda de los Infantes de Lara*. Cf. also the excellent observations of the late Rudolf Beer, *Zur Ueberlieferung altspanischer Literaturdenkmäler*, Wien, 1898, pp. 28-35.

compares the scanty literary output of Spain in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries with the wealth of productions of every kind offered in contemporary France, Italy, Germany and England, and concludes that "in the domain of the national epic as well, there could hardly have arisen many talents capable of writing large songs, and of treating in appropriate style in the manner of the French *jongleurs* subjects borrowed from tradition." From this argument, some may be inclined to appeal to an opinion expressed by G. Paris: "L'épopée castillane a dû être, dès l'origine, l'oeuvre de poètes de profession, de *juglares*, qui imitaient les chansons françaises en les appliquant aux événements historiques de leur patrie."²⁴⁷ But unquestionable as is the influence of the French epic upon the growth of the Castilian, it could not have called forth long narratives in Castile before such had arisen in France itself, nor could it have led to their creation in Castilian without a foregoing preparation of the epic form and style of this language for a higher art through the medium of shorter lays improvised under the immediate impression of the events.²⁴⁸ In the third place, the composition of not less than ten of the supposed vanished epics, and recasts of them, is placed by the Spanish school of critics within the first literary epoch of Castile, from 1150-1450. As these works were not, like the romances, survivals from an age of poetic production unaided by writing, and must have been invested with no little of the artistic value attaching to the Poem of the Cid, why have all of them so completely disappeared as not to leave any demonstrable trace behind them, or to have their existence testified to by an unequivocal reference in some contemporary or later document?²⁴⁹ The explanation which Menéndez y Pelayo²⁵⁰ and

²⁴⁷ *La Légende des Infants de Lara*, p. 19.

²⁴⁸ Cf. G. Paris, *Romania*, 13, pp. 602, 617-618. Compare with the sound views of this scholar the superficial theory of Milá y Fontanals, *Poesía heroica*, p. 409: "Creemos, sí, que . . . no se ha de buscar en breves canciones semilíricas el origen de la epopeya, cuando tan á mano se tiene la explicación de origen en las naturales propensiones narrativas del hombre."

²⁴⁹ In his second sonnet (*Obras*, p. 272) Santillana touches upon the death of Sancho before Zamora, but in the rubric to this poem he does not even so much as hint at the existence of such an epic as the one on the *Cerco de Zamora* conjectured and described by Menéndez Pidal, *Épopée*, pp. 57-74. Cf. above, p. 315, note 103.

²⁵⁰ *Antol.* II, pp. 41-44.

others²⁵¹ offer for this significant fact is that owing to their historical character, these poems were lost through absorption in, and replacement by, the chronicles. In reply to this it may be observed, first, that, as poetry, the Castilian epic, the same as that of other nations, gives us an idealized picture not of history, but of reality as conceived under the impression of the moment,²⁵² and that for this reason alone if for no other, it cannot be said to have had that exceptionally historical character which Spanish critics,²⁵³ in the face of the contradictory nature of their one extant example,²⁵⁴ ascribe to it; second, that both common sense and analogy justify the assumption that the use of written exemplars²⁵⁵ of large poems would naturally lead to their preservation, instead of bringing about their loss. It is well known²⁵⁶ that at the time of Solon the Homeric poems were taken as history, and their evidence cited in courts of arbitration as decisive for titles to land. Is there any one prepared to maintain that such service was calculated to consign them to oblivion? From what has been said it follows that the reason why Castile has so few large epics is not that the epics conjectured were all lost, but that for the most part they never existed; and that it is not for the critic to accept, without specific and full proof

²⁵¹ See e. g., Menéndez Pidal, *Leyenda*, pp. 38-39, and after him Morf, *Deutsche Rundschau*, 1900, p. 393.

²⁵² Cf. e. g., C. M. de Vasconcellas, *Zeitsch. f. rom. Phil.*, 16, p. 82.

²⁵³ See Menéndez Pidal, *Leyenda*, pp. 38-39; Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.* 11, p. 78; 12, p. 37.

²⁵⁴ The historical character of the *Poem of the Cid* is admitted, e. g., by Menéndez y Pelayo, *l. c.*, pp. 311-314; Menéndez Pidal, *Cantar de Mio Cid*, pp. 68-73 and 129. To this instance may be added the *Rodrigo*, which the Spanish school counts as an epic, but of which Milá, *Poesía heroica*, p. 255, says: "El Rodrigo es en muchos puntos, á más de no histórico, antihistórico." Similar judgment is passed by Menéndez Pidal, *Homenaje*, 1, pp. 456-467, and Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.* 2, pp. xxiv-xxvi; 12, pp. 337-338.

²⁵⁵ Menéndez y Pelayo, *l. c.*, p. 42, says: "La causa principal y más obvia de la pérdida de casi todos nuestros cantares de gesta fué que la mayor parte de ellos no llegaron á escribirse." In that case, how could the compilers of the Chronicles make that use of them to which he constantly appeals, and upon which the hypothesis of the derivation of the romances from large epics depends for all of its support? As for the statement made on the same page that the Homeric poems were entirely preserved by oral transmission, it certainly needs no refutation.

²⁵⁶ See Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, I, 15; Strabo, *Rerum Geograph.*, 1. ix, § 5.

in each case, the poetical coloring of chronicle-accounts as the basis for the assumption of extensive poems.²⁵⁷

That Castile nevertheless had some heroic songs of higher flight which are now missing is the logical inference from the progress in the art of composition involved in the creation of so large and fine a work as the Poem of the Cid only forty years after the death of its hero. To say nothing of one or more recasts of this poem²⁵⁸ which do not directly concern us here, we may assume the existence of a few smaller epics, though the evidence at hand admits of little more than an estimate of probability. The *mester de clerecía* on Fernan Gonzalez who, as we have seen,²⁵⁹ was singled out by Santillana for mention with the Cid, bears traces of a substratum of popular character which may have consisted in a more or less developed poem;²⁶⁰ and the material collected by Menéndez Pidal²⁶¹ establishes a presumption in favor of the creation, toward the end of the eleventh century, of a similar song on the Infantes de Lara. In addition to these poems, which were presumably of about the length of the separate *cantares* into which the Poem of the Cid is divided, it is reasonable to infer a considerable number of lays of the extent of the Carolingian romances²⁶² which prepared the way for the nobler art. It is such compositions as these, the growth

²⁵⁷ It is without such warrant that Menéndez Pidal, subscribing implicitly to the purely a priori considerations of Milá y Fontanals (*Poesía heroica*, pp. 196, 198, 200, 396, etc.), asserts (*Leyenda*, p. 37): "La crítica nos dice que existieron largos cantares sobre Bernardo del Carpio, Mainete, Don Fernando I, Don Sancho el de Zamora, y aun acerca de los Condes Garcia Fernández, Don Sancho y el Infante Don Garcia, ó de Alvar Fãnez Minaya y otros personajes, y sin embargo, no se conserva ni una sola copia de esos antiguos monumentos poéticos."

²⁵⁸ See I, pp. 26-27; and Coester, *Revue Hispanique*, 15, pp. 104-111.

²⁵⁹ See above, p. 315, note 103.

²⁶⁰ See I, pp. 15-16; Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.*, p. 225; Menéndez Pidal, *Épopée*, p. 44.

²⁶¹ See I, pp. 8-9, and note 19.

²⁶² It is characteristic of Milá's method that while he persistently derives the romances from disintegrated large epics, he nevertheless declares (*Observaciones*, p. 56): "Para precisar el sentido de estas conjeturas, añadiremos que, *salvo la extensión, no había diferencia alguna entre los cantares de gesta y los romances*, y valiéndonos de las palabras de una autoridad que respetamos sobre manera, que no es cierto que en el poema del Cid se hallan romances, sino que es una serie de romances, ó si se quiere, un largo romance"; and *l. c.*, p. 55: "Si, según parece más natural, los largos cantares de gesta se fundaron sobre poesías más cortas, estas quedaron absorbidas por los mismos."

of which was doubtless stimulated by the example of the French minstrels who visited Northwestern Spain from the beginning of the tenth century, that employed the verse of sixteen syllables and perfected the poetic technique and style which characterize the Poem of the Cid.²⁶³ They were not sufficient, however, to establish the double octosyllable firmly in the metrical practice of the time, and as no new subjects were added to the heroic tradition of Spain after the middle of the twelfth century,²⁶⁴ this verse ceased to be used. This circumstance may have been one of the reasons why the primitive form of our Poem was so soon subjected to an attempt at revision in accordance with French models.²⁶⁵

Resuming now the presentation of specific evidence in favor of the opinion²⁶⁶ that by the composition of "estos romances é cantares" Santillana had in mind the literary redaction of survivals of a traditional and independent type of folksong, let us turn to the romance itself.

It would be a most engaging and useful task to study the history of this form in the light of the themes it has in common with the oral and inscribed literature of other nations. As this is not the place for entering into a detailed investigation of this subject, we content ourselves with calling attention to the fact that recent research in this direction, embodied in two articles published by Pio Rajna, one on *Rosafiorida*,²⁶⁷ the other on the history of the Spanish ballad,²⁶⁸ have led the distinguished Italian critic to entertain serious doubts as to the soundness of what is termed Milá's theory of the origin of our type, a theory to which at one time he also subscribed without question.²⁶⁹ More direct is the testimony of those ballads which lie outside of the comprehensive heroic or legendary cycles, and are commonly known as *romances sueltos*. Of these, and of the border-ballads, Menéndez y Pelayo²⁷⁰ says: "Nunca han tenido

²⁶³ Cf. I, p. 23.

²⁶⁴ Cf. Milá, *Poesía heroica*, p. 400; Menéndez Pidal, *Leyenda*, p. 41. We must except, of course, such matters as those of the *romances fronterizos*.

²⁶⁵ Cf. I, pp. 28-29.

²⁶⁶ See above, pp. 315-325.

²⁶⁷ See above, p. 318, note 120.

²⁶⁸ *Osservazioni e dubbi concernenti la storia delle romanze spagnuole*, in ROMANIC REVIEW, Vol. 6.

²⁶⁹ See *Origini dell' epopea francese*, p. 478.

²⁷⁰ *Antol.* II, p. 46. See also II, pp. 78, 112.

otra forma que la de canciones breves y enteramente desligadas; y bien puede afirmarse que ninguno de ellos es anterior al siglo XV, no sólo en cuanto á su estado actual, sino en cuanto á su composición primitiva." As usual, no proof is given. We are nowhere told why the original form of these poems should have been so different from that of the so-called historical ballads which the Spanish critic derives from detached *laisses* of moribund epics, nor why none of them could have originated prior to the fifteenth century. As we shall presently see, the latter assertion is in contradiction with obvious facts partly admitted by himself. According to the chronicler Fray Francisco Sota,²⁷¹ the Asturian count Rodrigo Gonzalez, a rebellious vassal of Alphonse VII,²⁷² was the subject of a romance sung in the choral dances of Asturias in the seventeenth century. Are we to concur with Menéndez y Pelayo²⁷³ in the assumption that the composition of this lay, celebrating events of the first half of the twelfth century, belongs to a much later period and was based upon oral transmission of anecdotes dealing with this matter? To say nothing of the highly improbable supposition that genuine folksong may be a belated offspring of prose-narrative, we must remember that as a rule heroic tradition depends for its preservation upon its being cast immediately into a poetic mould,²⁷⁴ and that a personage of rather local fame, such as Rodrigo Gonzalez, does not inspire the popular muse centuries after his death in a far distant land. We shall therefore be on safer ground if we say that the Asturian romances known to Sota were survivals of lays sung in the very days of the hero. This view is fully borne out by the analogy of the border-ballads or *romances fronterizos*. That these were, as a class, brought forth under the immediate impression of the deeds commemorated, is beyond any reasonable doubt,²⁷⁵ and is admitted even by those who seek the source of songs of prac-

²⁷¹ See above, p. 302, note 46.

²⁷² See *Antol.* 12, pp. 33-46.

²⁷³ *L. c.*, pp. 43-44.

²⁷⁴ See pp. 306, 310, 338; and compare the careful observations of H. M. Chadwick in the *Heroic Age*, pp. 77-79.

²⁷⁵ Cf. e. g., Gummere, *The Popular Ballad*, pp. 56, 243. What we have said is of course not meant to deny that some of the border-ballads preserved in literary records were drawn from chronicles and similar sources. But no one with an inkling of what poetry is will confuse such cases with the origin of the type itself.

tically identical character, such as the so-called historical ballads, in degenerate large epics.²⁷⁶ Argote de Molina²⁷⁷ has transmitted to us a romance commemorating a siege of Baeza.²⁷⁸ If, as now seems fairly well established,²⁷⁹ the siege in question was the earlier one of 1368, we may regard this ballad not only as one of the oldest datable examples of its class,²⁸⁰ but also as a proof that the border-ballad had become recognized as an artistic form not later than the middle of the fourteenth century. In this view both Menéndez y Pelayo and Menéndez Pidal practically concur,²⁸¹ the former in contradiction to an assertion of his cited above.²⁸² But contrary to what would seem to be the natural inference from it, these scholars maintain that the border-ballad as a type did not exist before. They fail to consider, here as elsewhere, that the first appearance of a poetic form in literary records does not mark the time of its true origin, but of its conscious use. While the romance on the siege of Baeza is one of the oldest ballads of this kind of which we now have a text, it is not, as Menéndez y Pelayo appears to think, the first of which we know.²⁸³ What indeed were the heroic deeds of Rodrigo Gonzalez himself if not those of a powerful feudal lord now defying his king, now wresting territory from the Moor?²⁸⁴ Such border-warfare constituted the very beginning of the reconquest of the Peninsula, and must have inspired heroic song quite as much then as in the closing period of the great struggle whose exploits and poetry owe their partial preservation from oblivion to a broader national feeling and a new literary interest.

In the course of our discussion we have had occasion²⁸⁵ to quote

²⁷⁶ Milá y Fontanals, *Poesía heroica*, pp. 323-324; Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.* 12, p. 167 ff.; Menéndez Pidal, *Épopée*, p. 170, and *Revista de libros*, vol. 2, 1914, p. 8.

²⁷⁷ *Nobleza de Andalucía*, Sevilla, 1588, fol. 237-238.

²⁷⁸ *Antol.* 9, p. 196.

²⁷⁹ See Menéndez y Pelayo, *l. c.*, 12, pp. 169-170; Menéndez Pidal, *Épopée*, p. 170, and *Revista de libros*, vol. 2 (1914), no. 7, pp. 8-9.

²⁸⁰ Another old romance *fronterizo*, dealing with a battle of 1424, may be preserved in a text reprinted *Antol.* 10, pp. 359-360.

²⁸¹ See the works referred to in note 279.

²⁸² See p. 42, note 270.

²⁸³ *Antol.* 12, p. 169.

²⁸⁴ *Antol.* 12, pp. 37-38.

²⁸⁵ See above, p. 321.

the passage in which Juan Alvarez Gato refers to the "romances de Don Bueso" as time-worn. As this allusion was doubtless written in the poet's youthful days,²⁸⁶ it can hardly date from later than 1455. What were these romances? Menéndez y Pelayo makes them the subject of several, partly conflicting conjectures. In his study of Alvarez Gato's poetry he remarks:²⁸⁷ "Alusión por cierto muy notable, y ya antes de ahora notada, que sirve para atestiguar la remota antigüedad de un tema de romances que no existe en las colecciones impresas, pero del cual perseveran vestigios en la tradición poética oral de Asturias y otras comarcas." Neither here nor elsewhere does the Spanish scholar, any more than his predecessor Milá y Fontanals,²⁸⁸ give any thought to the possible significance of Alvarez Gato's remark for the important question as to the age of our poetic type. The two Asturian lays with which he connects our "romances de Don Bueso"²⁸⁹ are in *versos de redondilla menor* and deal with Don Bueso's search for a wife and his recognition of his lost sister. They are therefore novelistic rather than heroic in character.²⁹⁰ Likewise novelistic are the other songs on D. Bueso which Menéndez y Pelayo cites in this connection,²⁹¹ the romance of D. Bozo in the Algarve,²⁹² of D. Beço in the Minho,²⁹³ and of Flor do Dia in Brazil.²⁹⁴ These ballads are concerned with the wide-spread legend of the cruel mother-in-law and have consequently nothing in common with the Asturian pieces except the name of the hero, which is secondary in all of them.²⁹⁵ As for the metre, only the versions of the Algarve and

²⁸⁶ Cf. *Antol.* 10, p. 59.

²⁸⁷ *Antol.* 6, p. xlv.

²⁸⁸ *Poesía heroica*, p. 169, note 2, and p. 418.

²⁸⁹ Printed by Juan Menéndez Pidal, *Poesía popular*, no. xv and xvi (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 295-298), and M. y P., *Antol.* 10, pp. 56-58.

²⁹⁰ For the recognition-scene cf. Menéndez y Pelayo, *l. c.*, 10, pp. 58-61; 12, pp. 516-517.

²⁹¹ *L. c.*, 10, pp. 60-61, and *ibid.*, pp. 95-97, the Asturian piece, no. 32.

²⁹² Reis Damaso, *Tradições populares do Algarve*, Lisboa, 1882, p. 171.

²⁹³ Braga, *Romancero Geral Portuguez*, I (1906), pp. 562-563.

²⁹⁴ *Cantos populares do Brazil, colligidos por* S. Romero, Lisboa, 1883, I, pp. 25-27 (no. 14), II, pp. 182-183.

²⁹⁵ Cf. C. Michaelis in *Revista lusitana*, 2, p. 202. For the legend of the bad mother-in-law, see F. J. Child's account of the Testament formulae in *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, I, p. 183 f., and Schrader, *Die Schwiegermutter und der Hagestolz*, Braunschweig, 1904.

of Brazil are in *versos de redondilla menor*. That the use of this measure indicates lateness of origin is an opinion of Menéndez y Pelayo's for which proof is lacking. In addition to the two groups of romances mentioned, there is still another that deserves attention. In it we find a jealous woman seeking to poison her lover in revenge for his desertion, the name of the protagonist being D. Alonso in the versions of Asturias²⁹⁶ and Leon,²⁹⁷ D. Jorge in those of the Azores²⁹⁸ and of Brazil,²⁹⁹ and Don Bueso in the one of the Jews of Tangiers.³⁰⁰ Of the three cycles of romances cited as still living on the lips of men in the Peninsula, two at least, as we have seen, are also found in the colonies. From this fact, as well as from the antiquity and wide distribution of the elements of fiction they contain, it is reasonable to infer that they hark back to older forms current in the century of Columbus and based, in their turn, upon a still more primitive tradition.³⁰¹ It is not unlikely, therefore, that it was to one of these cycles that Alvarez Gato's "romances de Don Bueso" belonged. But it is far from certain. Our ignorance of the contents of the latter does not permit us to say that they had more in common with the lays of to-day than the name.³⁰² Besides, a Don Bueso figures in still another traditional theme which has not been considered in this connection. We have in mind the *cantares* to which the *General* repeatedly refers in its account of Bernardo del Carpio and Don Bueso, "un alto ome de Francia,"³⁰³ and which, as we saw above,³⁰⁴ could not have been

²⁹⁶ *Antol.* 10, pp. 98-99.

²⁹⁷ Menéndez Pidal, *Romancero*, p. 126.

²⁹⁸ *Antol.* 10, pp. 99-100.

²⁹⁹ Sylvio Romero, *Cantos pop. do Brazil*, I, nos. 19, 20, and II, pp. 196-199.

³⁰⁰ Menéndez Pidal, *l. c.*, pp. 126-127.

³⁰¹ The Comte de Puymaigre observes (*Revue des Études Juives*, 1896, vol. 33, p. 276): "On est indécis sur la date des romances: ils prouvent que les chants originaux qu'ils rappellent étaient connus au XV^e siècle et sans doute, bien antérieurement"; and Menéndez Pidal, *Cultura española*, 1906, p. 111, admits: "El caudal de cantos comunes con España y otros pueblos europeos nos mostrará una etapa de tradición frecuentemente más arcaica y pura que la de la Península."

³⁰² *Antol.* 10, p. 59, Menéndez y Pelayo says himself: "No sabemos qué cosa serían unos romances de Don Bueso que pasaban ya por una antigualla en tiempo de Enrique IV."

³⁰³ See above, p. 308, and *General*, p. 380 a 11-15. Menéndez y Pelayo (*Antol.* 10, pp. 58-59) supposes a relation between the *cantares* of the *General* with the two Asturian ballads cited above, but not with those mentioned by Alvarez Gato.

³⁰⁴ See pp. 309-311, 338-339.

so many extensive poems, but must have been minor lays. In as much as the romances of Bernardo preserved to us recite only events subsequent to the alleged slaying of the French warrior by his Castilian adversary in 843,³⁰⁵ we may assume that others, celebrating this victory, existed, but are now lost. Milá y Fontanals³⁰⁶ expressed the opinion that the appearance of a Don Bueso in Spain was due to a pure invention, no such personage occurring in French poems outside of the *Girart de Rossilló*. With regard to this it must be noted, however, that the prominence of men in the *Girart* bearing a similar name³⁰⁷ and the striking resemblance of the names of some of them with those of the Castilian legend³⁰⁸ render it more likely that his name, if not already existing in Northern Spain, was obtained from France. And it must further be noted that the Châteauroux and Venice manuscripts representing the Roland-legend mention a Bos de Lions among the followers of Girart de Vienne,³⁰⁹ thus indicating a connection between personages of this name and the French poems dealing with the wars in the Peninsula. If, in addition to this, we consider that, as the chronicler Ambrosio de Morales informs us,³¹⁰ the name Bueso, Boyso was borne by a *merino* of Sancho III (1000-1035) and by other persons of the same period, there would seem to be fair ground for the conjecture, if for nothing more, that these forms were the Spanish correspondents of the French Bos, Booz, Boson, Bueson, and that the Don Bueso of the *General*, instead of being a comparatively late invention, had at least as much reality as Bernardo del Carpio himself, whose heroic legend, as Milá and Menéndez y Pelayo opine,³¹¹ "se formó, con apoyo del Bernardo de Ribagorza, por influencia, por remedo, y pudiéramos decir por emulación de los cantares franceses." Being thus originally attached to a heroic figure of the Northern part of the Peninsula, the name Don Bueso

³⁰⁵ See *General*, p. 371 a 8-36.

³⁰⁶ *Poesía heroica*, p. 169.

³⁰⁷ See in Langlois, *Table des noms propres dans les chansons de geste*, Paris, 1904, p. 106, the forms Booz, Boz, Boson, Bozon, Bouzon.

³⁰⁸ See *l. c.*, Booz d'Escorpion, Boson d'Escorpion.

³⁰⁹ See *Altfranzösische Bibliothek, herausgeg. von W. Foerster*, VI, p. 324.

³¹⁰ *Crónica general de España*, l. 13, cap. 49. The inferences drawn from this circumstance by Milá and Menéndez y Pelayo are not to the point.

³¹¹ *Poesía heroica*, p. 160; *Antol.* 11, p. 202.

may, as Carolina Michaelis suggests,³¹² have come, like that of Pelayo, to designate the sturdy and rude Asturian *infante* or noble, the natural hero of chivalresque adventure, and later, with the ascendancy of Castile over the mountain-kingdoms, have assumed the sense of depreciation and burlesque.³¹³ It is thus that we may account for the appearance of a Don Bueso as the enemy of Bernardo del Carpio; again, as the hero of ballad-cycles known to the oral tradition of today, where he mostly figures in the rôle of king or son of kings; and still again as the subject of burlesque poems recorded from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries.³¹⁴

Now, whichever of these groups of lays may contain the solution of the literary enigma presented by Alvarez Gato, it is clear that any one of them argues forcibly for the antiquity not only of a given theme of romances, as Menéndez y Pelayo chose to say, but of the poetic type itself. If it is admitted, as it must be, that the songs living in the oral memory of the Hispanic world of to-day are in the main the descendants of those imitated in the age of Santillana,³¹⁵ if Menéndez y Pelayo was right, as he doubtless was, in subscribing³¹⁶ to the conclusion of Carolina Michaelis³¹⁷ that the romance "Helo, helo, por do viene" is a survival of a lay or trio of lays handed down on the lips of men from a period considerably anterior to the fourteenth century, and consequently has no explanation within Milá's theory of epic origins; if there is any value in Menéndez Pidal's suggestion³¹⁸ "that the legend of King Rodrigo comes in large part from poems contemporary with the

³¹² *Revista lusit.*, 2, p. 202.

³¹³ In a *respuesta* of the *Cancionero de Baena*, no. 434 (= ed. Michel, II, p. 129), Juan Alfonso de Baena is addressed as follows:

E a carcel perpetua, so mi cerradura,
Sereys condenado, syn dubda, Don Bueso.

³¹⁴ See Duran, *Romancero general*, nos. 1710, 1719. According to Milá, *l. c.*, p. 169, note 2, a personage mentioned in a burlesque romance contained in the *Cancionero de Ixar* (see Gallardo, *Ensayo*, no. 487, col. 588) bears the pseudonym Don Bueso.

³¹⁵ See e. g., Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.* 10, p. 7 f.; 11, pp. 172, 212, 363 f.; Menéndez Pidal, *Homenaje*, 1, pp. 462-466; *Romancero*, pp. 106, 114 f., 120 f.; *Épopée*, p. 193 f.; and above, p. 346, note 301.

³¹⁶ *Antol.* 11, p. 361.

³¹⁷ *Zeitsch. f. rom. Philol.*, 16, pp. 40-89.

³¹⁸ *Épopée*, pp. 17-18.

king, composed by the Goths after their defeat by Tarik, and echoed since the tenth century by the Arabic historians"; and if it be true that, as the same scholar argues,³¹⁹ "Walther of Aquitania was celebrated in Gothic Spain as elsewhere in the Teutonic domain, so that the romance of Gaiferos must be considered as part of the mysterious bond which unites the Visigothic epic to the heroic poetry of Castile," it will be difficult to maintain the proposition that the true development of the "romances de Don Bueso" fell within the very century in which they were characterized as antiquated, and that the romance, as a distinct form of poetry, did not in its essential elements exist for centuries before it rose into the realm of literature.

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³¹⁹ *L. c.*, pp. 18-20.

FAZIO DEGLI UBERTI AS A LYRIC POET

IT is now thirty years since Renier's edition¹ made accessible all the lyrics of Fazio degli Uberti; yet not even now is their value fitly recognized. The finest of them have found places in many anthologies, and so, doubtless, reached the public; but the recognition of their importance in the history of Italian lyric poetry is still incomplete. It is therefore my design to indicate briefly the position and value of these poems in the literature of their age.

The current neglect of Fazio is largely attributable to two causes. First, he comes between Dante and Petrarch (he is almost an exact contemporary of the latter), and is involved in the general eclipse of lesser talent by these two greater lights. In the second place, his relation to Dante, unmistakable as it is, has been wrongly emphasized. His long geographical poem, the *Dittamondo*, written in his later years on the pattern of the *Commedia*, but naturally far below its model, has, by reason of this relationship, drawn the chief attention of scholars. Precisely as Dante, in the years after his death, became the poet of the *Commedia* rather than of the *Vita Nuova* and the *Canzoniere*, so Fazio and his lyrics have been undeservedly entombed under the crushing weight of the *Dittamondo*.

A fair estimate of the value of Fazio's work is only possible in the light of some knowledge of his life, of which, to be sure, we do not know very many details. Born in exile, a descendant of that Farinata on whose house weighed the curse of Florence, he was constrained to live at the courts of Ghibelline princes, and to succumb at times to the temptations to flattery and time-serving that beset a courtier's career. Yet throughout he held fast to certain rooted convictions. He was a staunch Ghibelline, the last in fact who gave utterance to the ideals of his party in an age when those ideals were passing away, but likewise one of the first to recognize the new conditions, and to abandon the outworn dream of the Holy Roman Empire in favor of the concept of an Italy united under a native prince. He loved passionately, and in divers places; but in the end

¹ *Liriche edite e inedite di Fazio degli Uberti*, Florence, 1883.

he forsook his snares of carnal love, and devoted his Muse to the cause of his political ideals. In his expression of these changes of attitude he is almost always sincere, frequently effective, and at times unequalled in his age for beauty of lyrical utterance.

It is undeniable that Fazio's work is occasionally faulty in detail. The troubled conditions of his life, in which poverty stood by his side while he called on death in vain, as he tells us in the canzone *Lasso, che quando imaginando vegno*, must have made it impossible for him always to secure leisure for careful finishing; and the exigencies of a courtier's career led him to perpetrate certain poems, such as the address to Matteo and Bernabò Visconti, and that to a noble lady of Verona,² which have little intrinsic value. But on the whole one is more impressed by the extent to which his native genius survived the distractions of external conditions. He holds firmly to his political convictions, even when they are no longer those of his fellows; and his power of graphic phrasing flashes out to the last, even when the surrounding matter is no longer inspired.

The essential novelty of Fazio's lyric is the change from the exalted and at times superhuman mysticism of the *Stil nuovo* to what may be called, in the best sense, a realistic mode of treatment. The school of the *Stil nuovo*, the brief product of a long period of growth, could not survive the disintegration of the peculiar conflux of forces that had produced it. The decline of scholasticism involved the decay of the concepts that had formed the intellectual basis of the new style, and their retention could only be a conventional survival of outworn ideas no longer corresponding to the needs of the time. If lyric poetry was to continue, it must progress in a new direction; and that direction was already indicated in Dante himself. In two notable canzoni, the "winter song" *Io son venuto al punto della ruota* and the "song of the harsh speech" *Così nel mio parlar voglio esser aspro*, we find an unmistakable realistic tendency, an endeavor to represent a dominant emotion as vividly and immediately as possible. It is this realistic tendency that Fazio takes over, and hands on to his successors of the Trecento; there to be met and ultimately overcome by the precisely opposite tendency

² Beginning *L'utile intendo più che la rettorica* and *Ahi donna grande, possente e magnanima*, respectively, and written throughout in sdruciole rimes, a favorite device with Fazio.

embodied in the work of Petrarch, and by his agency made to prevail in the lyric of Renaissance Italy.

The most important illustration of this relation between Dante and Fazio is the canzone *Io guardo fra l'erbette per li prati*, which is evidently based on Dante's winter canzone. The stanza is almost exactly the same, except for a slightly longer first part, and retains Dante's device of devoting most of it to a description of winter, contrasted, in the concluding four lines, with his own mental state. Fazio, however, uses spring as the source of his imagery, and thus departs from Dante in his choice of detail. He has chosen his model wisely, and follows it only in a general way, filling in the outline according to his own inclination, and producing an independent work, not a minute and lifeless copy.

Other love-poems of Fazio show a greater expression of his own personality. Two women seem to have been the chief objects of his adoration. In *Nella tua prima età pargola e pura* he describes the gradual growth of his love for a young girl during seven years, and his separation from her for another seven; yet his love is still faithful and her beauty enduring, as he proclaims in perhaps his finest lines:

Ch'e'cape' crespi e biondi,
Gli occhi e la bocca e ogni biltà tua
Non fece Iddio perchè venisser meno,
Ma per mostrare a pieno
A noi l'esempio de la gloria sua.

Here we have an unmistakable echo of the *Stil nuovo*, but with a more human phrasing. Perhaps for the same girl he wrote the canzone *Io guardo i crespi e li biondi capelli*, in which her beauty is described with an admirable combination of precision and breadth. Renier seems to me unjust to this poem in emphasizing its conventional character. After all, its coincidences with later work are due in large part to the fact that Fazio fixed the tradition for that later work, in which we miss precisely the individual touches which he gives us; such as

le lunghe e sottilette dita
Vaghe di quello anel che l'un tien cinto.

In these poems we see how Fazio contrived to bring nearer to earth the exalted conceptions of the *Stil nuovo*, making them more broadly human without sacrificing their nobility.

The second love, belonging to a later stage of Fazio's life, is that for Ghidola Malaspina, married to a Count of Montefeltro. For her he wrote several poems (among them the "spring poem" already discussed), playing, for identification, on the figure of the rose among the thorns. Perhaps the most beautiful of them is *Nel tempo che s'infiore e cuopre d'erba*, a vision of a spring landscape in the midst of which sits his lady weaving a garland, until her maidens come, and with delight point her out to one another. The precision of observation, the accurate simplicity of the metaphors, the almost informal diction, give the whole a delightful air of improvisation and freedom of treatment, wholly different from the conscientious composition of similar scenes in Petrarch. When the lady sets on her head the garland she has woven,

sì bene le stava,
Che l'una a l'altra a dito la mostrava;

and she moves away to the music of a line extraordinarily modern in its cadence, "pavoneggiando per le verdi piagge." Here realism does not degenerate into triviality, nor is the underlying dignity of conception impaired.

A third poem addressed to Ghidola, *S'io savessi formar quanti son begli*, contains an element which suggests a later date, and portends a change—the presence of erudite mythological allusions, scattered through the first part of the poem with a profusion to which the author complacently draws attention—"Deh, nota ciò ch'io spargo!" Yet at the end he returns to his own natural vein of emotion, bidding Love carve on his tomb the cause of his fate, but not his lady's name, lest she should be unjustly accused of cruelty. She is merciful, and will grieve that her beauty should have undone her worshipper, who is loath that she should be even momentarily troubled for his sake. The self-abnegation and delicate regard for his lady that this passage shows (it is unfortunately too long to quote), is the completest contrast imaginable to the restless, self-centered emotion of Petrarch.

So we come to the end of the love-poems, and to a change in Fazio's attitude. Toward the middle of the century, moved by contemplation of the woes of Italy, he turned from love to political speculation. Yet the change, tho it resulted in that savage invective against carnal love, *Io vorrei 'nanzi stare in mezzo un fango*, must have been gradual; for in the most sustained of his political poems, *Quella virtù ch'il terzo ciel infonde*, he begs Love merely to grant him a truce from the perpetual thought of his lady, that he may recount a vision inspired by the sad estate of his country. In an exquisite stanza he tells how he fell asleep on a hill, and beheld "una alta donna con canuta chioma," the goddess Rome, who recounts her past glories and her present misery. Here historical allusion is naturally prominent; but it is illuminated by an imaginative reaction, expressed in vivid phrases. The ancient Romans are not mere strings of names, but "rigidi padri colle scure in mano"; Attilius appears "with hands calloused by plowing." Something of Dante's marvellous power of observation is in these lines; and something of Dante's exaltation in the concluding apostrophe to the

talian giardino

Chiuso da' monti e dal suo proprio mare.

In the two historical poems on Florence and Fiesole, which suggest the purely erudite manner of the *Dittamondo*, inspiration seems largely to have failed; but the poem which perhaps closes the series, the bitter invective against Charles IV. of Luxemburg *Di quel possi tu ber che bevve Crasso*, is characteristically vigorous in its asault on that well-intentioned monarch who so grievously dashed the last hopes of the Ghibellines. It evidently became famous, for it is cited by the Florentine Sacchetti at the close of a similar canzone of his own.

Thus we have completed our brief survey of the chief classes of Fazio's lyric, and seen the finest examples of each. It would, however, be idle to assert that he always maintains the level of the latter, even in the period of his maturity. We can find instances of metrical variation, and of words tormented for the requirements of the rime, tho these defects are partly excusable because of the troubled conditions of Fazio's life previously alluded to. One

defect in particular is present in his work, at times to an alarming extent; I mean abuse of erudite allusions, whether mythological or historical. We have already seen traces of this in *S'io savessi formar*, where however it is abandoned toward the close in favor of an outburst of sincere personal emotion. In *Grave m'è a dire come amaro torna* it appears more extensively, tho still not in excessive profusion; but we can see that the poet relies more on it, and on a corresponding conventionality of diction. Akin to this is the astonishing display of astrological learning in *Tanto son volti i ciel di parte in parte*, with which he endeavors to persuade Ludwig of Bavaria to intervene in the affairs of Italy. It must be said, however, that rarely does Fazio employ such learned allusions to absolute excess, and never does he make them the sole reason for a poem's existence, while often, as we have seen, they are so transformed by imagination as to become genuinely poetical.

To speak of the influence of Fazio on the subsequent development of Trecento lyric would carry us too far beyond our present limits. I may however state that most of the chief types of that lyric are to be found in his work, some complete, others adumbrated. It is but a step from the passionate outcries of *Lasso, che quando imaginando vegno* to the systematic arrangement of such maledictions in the *disperata* devised by Fazio's eccentric friend Antonio da Ferrara; and if we examine *Grave m'è a dire*, with its numerous erudite allusions and rather conventional diction, we can see how a similar step will bring us to the rigid form of the canzone by Bruzio Visconti (also a friend of Fazio's) *Mal d'amor parla chi d'amor non sente*, with its learned reference punctually at the end of every stanza. In this movement toward greater rigidity of form the value of the realistic tendency initiated by Fazio was increasingly lost sight of, until the love of erudition for its own sake came to prevail, as in the work of Serdini in lyric, and of Fazio himself in the *Dittamondo*.

We have thus traced the evolution of Fazio from a masterly writer of love-poems, bringing the mysticism of the *Stil nuovo* down to earth, but not robbing it wholly of its clouds of glory, into a fervent political enthusiast, on whose mind dawns the vision of a united Italy, after he has seen the futility of his partisan hopes; and

in the end into a man who curses fleshly love and the poverty that has undone his life, and abandons song for the laborious versifying of erudition. Surely it is an aberration to fix our eyes on this last stage, slighting the visionary who calls up the past glories of Rome, the lover who sees his lady the fairest flower in all the pageantry of spring. We are not called upon to defend Fazio's repute merely on the strength of his historical importance, large as that unquestionably is. His place as the most noteworthy lyric poet of the century, after Petrarch, seems to me assured; and he has some desirable qualities which Petrarch himself did not possess. He is the superior of Cino da Pistoia in poetic force, and in the fact that he is breaking a new path for Italian poetry, not following a way already made smooth; while Boccaccio, as Renier rightly says, does not, as a lyric poet, enter the competition. Not only is Fazio of large significance as the representative of new tendencies in Italian lyric poetry; he contrived, amid the pressure of changing times and adverse circumstances, to bequeath us poems of great and enduring beauty.

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MONTAIGNE AND *THE TEMPEST*

IT has long been recognized that in *The Tempest* Shakespeare made use of Montaigne's essay *Of the Caniballes* as translated by Florio. The following description of an ideal commonwealth given by the old councillor Gonzalo is a paraphrase of a passage in Montaigne:

I' the commonwealth I would by contraries
Execute all things; for no kind of traffic
Would I admit; no name of magistrate;
Letters should not be known; riches, poverty,
Bourn, bound of land, tilth, vineyard, none;
No use of metal, corn, or wine, or oil;
No occupation; all men idle, all;
And women too, but innocent and pure;
No sovereignty (2.1.148-157).

The two speeches of Gonzalo immediately following are also related to Montaigne. Morton Luce, in his edition of *The Tempest* (*Arden Shakespeare*), after pointing out the parallels to the passages mentioned, quotes from *Of the Caniballes* as follows:

Three of that nation, ignorant how deare the knowledge of our corruptions will one day cost their repose, securitie, and happinesse, and how their ruine shall proceed from this commerce, which I imagine is already well advanced—miserable as they are to have suffered themselves to be so cosened by a desire of new fangled novelties, etc.

This passage, he says, illustrates the ethical thought of the play, which is summed up in Caliban's speech:

You taught me language; and my profit on't
Is, I know how to curse: the red plague rid you,
For learning me your language (1.2.363-5)!

He adds that many other resemblances to "*The Tempest*" may be

found in the essay *Of the Caniballes*, but gives no further examples; nor are any furnished by Mr. John M. Robertson in his work entitled *Montaigne and Shakespeare*. It may be of interest to suggest a few.

There are certain accidental resemblances that hardly need be regarded. Montaigne says that his servant who had been in Canada lived there 'ten or twelve years,' and twelve years is the time of Prospero's sojourn in the island. The passage:

For more assurance that a living prince
Does now speak to thee, I embrace thy body (5.1.107-8),

a reminiscence of such scenes in classical literature as the attempt of Ulysses to embrace his mother in Hades, suggests Montaigne's 'We embrace all but we fasten nothing but wind'.

There is some likeness between the land of the cannibals and the island of Prospero. The island is, indeed, as in the Epilogue, usually spoken of as bare or desert, though speeches of Caliban (2. 2. 167 ff., etc.) show it to be somewhat productive, but Gonzalo says of it: 'Here is everything advantageous to life' (2. 1. 48); a sentence that may be compared with the following in Montaigne: 'To this day they yet enjoy that natural uberite and fruitfulness, which without labouring toyle, doth in such plenteous abundance furnish them with all necessary things, that they need not enlarge their limits. . . . They neither want any necessary thing.' Adrian says of the island: 'It must needs be of a subtle, tender, and delicate temperance. . . . The air breathes upon us here most sweetly.' The cannibals 'live in a country of so exceeding pleasant and temperate situation, that as my testimonies have told me, it is verie rare to see a sicke body amongst them'.

The theme of Montaigne's essay is the contrast between the virtues of the savages and the vices of civilized men. In various ways he illustrates the thought:

I finde there is nothing in that nation, that is either barbarous or savage, unlesse men call that barbarism which is not common to them. . . . They are even savage, as we call those fruits wilde, which nature of herself, and of her ordinarie progresse hath produced: whereas indeed, they are those which our selves have altered by our

artificial devices, and diverted from our common order, we should rather term savage. In those are the true and most profitable virtues, and naturall properties most lively and vigorous.

The character of Caliban is sufficient evidence that Shakespeare did not believe in the perfect natural man, but rather in the blessings of education and civilization, aiding man toward a state of virtue. What is Prospero, the man so learned that he has gained control even over the phenomena of nature, so noble that he can forgive even his worst enemies, but the man who has in his search after wisdom been brought far toward the perfect state of humanity? Prospero's sentiments toward Caliban, the natural man 'whom stripes may move, not kindness', are like those of Wordsworth's Wanderer toward the American Indian:

But that pure archetype of human greatness,
I found him not. There, in his stead, appeared
A creature, squalid, vengeful, and impure;
Remorseless, and submissive to no law
But superstitious fear, and abject sloth (*Excursion* 3.951-5).

None the less, between inhabitants of the island other than Caliban, and the civilized men shipwrecked there Shakespeare draws a contrast that suggests Montaigne. The latter says that the cannibals do not 'lack this great portion, to know how to enjoy their condition happily, and are contented with what nature affordeth them', and that 'those that are much about one age, doe generally entercall one another brethren, and such as are younger, they call children, and the aged are esteemed as fathers to all the rest. These leave this full possession of goods in common, and without division, to their heires', and above all: 'There was never any opinion found so unnaturall and immodest, that would excuse treason, treacherie, disloyaltie, tyrannie, crueltie, and such like, which are our ordinary faults,' implying that such are not the faults of the cannibals. There is a similar contrast between the civilized man and the savage in the following lines, spoken when the strange shapes, helpers of Ariel, bring a banquet to the King of Naples and his companions:

GONZALO. For, certes, these are people of the island,—
Who, though they are of monstrous shape, yet, note,

Their manners are more gentle-kind than of
Our human generation you shall find
Many, nay, almost any.

PROSPERO. (*Aside.*) Honest lord,
Thou hast said well; for some of you there present
Are worse than devils (3.3.30-36).

Montaigne's civilized faults of 'treason, treacherie, disloyaltie', in contrast to savage love of one's neighbor, are exemplified to the full in the men whom Prospero rightly calls 'worse than devils'; for, in addition to their older crime against Prospero, two of them have just been planning against their friends another crime for the sake of worldly gain.

Prospero has been the teacher of Caliban:

PROSPERO. I pitied thee,
Took pains to make thee speak, taught thee each hour
One thing or other: when thou didst not, savage,
Know thine own meaning, but wouldst gabble like
A thing most brutish, I endow'd thy purposes
With words that made them known: but thy vile race,
Though thou didst learn, had that in't which good natures
Could not abide to be with (1.2.353-60).

Shakespeare represents Caliban as so corrupt that he cannot receive the good things Prospero endeavors to give him: quite different the thought of Montaigne, who (as appears in the passage mentioned in the quotation from Luce given above) fears that the knowledge of European corruptions will destroy the innocence of the savages. Speaking of a barbarous manner of execution learned by the cannibals from the Portuguese, Montaigne comments:

They supposed that these people of the other world (as they who had sowed the knowledge of many vices amongst their neighbours, and were much more cunning in all kinds of evils and mischiefs than they) undertooke not this manner of revenge without cause, and that consequently it was more smartfull and cruell than theirs, and thereupon began to leave their old fashion to follow this.

The readiness of Caliban, who could not profit by the wisdom of Prospero, to subject himself to so wretched a specimen of humanity

as Stephano, even though the worst new vice he learns is drunkenness, is somewhat of a parallel. So far are Stephano and Trinculo from superiority to the native, Caliban, that they fall in with his worst vices, and plan to aid him in an attempt to murder Prospero—a deed that Caliban thinks will be possible for them, though impossible for himself. The admiration expressed by Caliban for the king and his companions—of whom he says: 'These be brave spirits, indeed' (5. 261)—is full of irony, for some of them are in treachery and ingratitude worse than himself. Curiously similar to the admiration of Caliban is that of Miranda, who, when she exclaims at the sight of the newcomers:

O brave new world,
That has such people in't (5.183-4)!

seems to act for the moment something of the part of the untutored savage first looking upon Europeans. Her words echo the phrase 'the other world' in a passage of Montaigne already quoted ('They supposed that these people of the other world' etc.). Her father answers in a speech that emphasizes her ignorance and his sad knowledge of the evil character of some of the nobly appearing men before her: 'New for you'.

Montaigne insists on the utter lack of covetousness among the savages, so much in contrast with the habits of Europeans, who make war for the sake of booty. The wars of the cannibals

are noble and generous, and have as much excuse and beautie, as this humane infirmity may admit: they ayme at nought so much, and have no other foundation amongst them, but the mere jelousie of vertue. They contend not for the gaining of new lands, . . . else have they nothing to do with the goods and spoyles of the vanquished.

Shakespeare, in a scene none the less full of meaning for its humor, brings out the superiority in this respect of Caliban to Stephano and Trinculo. When, on their way to attack Prospero, the Europeans stop to seize the rich garments put out as a snare for them, Caliban cries out:

Let it alone, thou fool; it is but trash. . . .
 The dropsy drown this fool! what do you mean
 To dote thus on such luggage? Let's along, . . .
 I will have none on't: we shall lose our time (4.224-248).

It is sometimes said that Caliban is a poet; the following speech is especially remarkable:

The isle is full of noises,
 Sounds and sweet airs, that give delight, and hurt not.
 Sometimes a thousand twangling instruments
 Will hum about mine ears; and sometimes voices,
 That, if I then had wak'd after long sleep,
 Will make me sleep again: and then, in dreaming,
 The clouds methought would open and show riches
 Ready to drop upon me; that, when I wak'd
 I cried to dream again (3.2.141-49)¹

Montaigne praises the poetical gifts of the cannibals; quoting one of their warlike songs, he remarks: 'An invention that hath no shew of barbarism'. Giving one of their 'amorous canzonets' ('Adder stay, stay good adder, that my sister may by the patterne of thy partie-coloured coat drawe the fashion and worke of a rich lace, for me to give unto my love; so may thy beautie, thy nimblenesse or disposition be ever preferred before all other serpents'), he comments: 'I am so conversant with Poesie, that I may judge this invention hath no barbarisme at all in it, but is altogether Anacreontike'.

¹ Let there be set beside Caliban's words the following passage spoken by Milton's Adam in Paradise:

Millions of spiritual Creatures walk the Earth
 Unseen, both when we wake, and when we sleep:
 All these with ceaseless praise his works behold
 Both day and night: how often from the steep
 Of echoing Hill or Thicket have we heard
 Celestial voices to the midnight air,
 Sole, or responsive each to others note
 Singing thir great Creator: oft in bands
 While they keep watch, or nightly rounding walk
 With Heav'nly touch of instrumental sounds
 In full harmonic number joind, thir songs
 Divide the night, and lift our thoughts to Heaven (*P. L.* 4. 677-688).

How astonishing is Shakespeare's use of Montaigne's essay! The land of the cannibals becomes the imaginary commonwealth of Gonzalo. By transposing letters in Montaigne's title the poet transforms *cannibal* into Caliban,² and to the creature thus named he gives many traits not suggested in the essay. Though Caliban still retains some of the excellencies of the virtuous native, he has also the vices of the savage. The wickedness of civilized men is not less clear to Shakespeare than to Montaigne; but the dramatist, remembering also their virtues, makes no sweeping contrast between the evils of civilization and the blessings of savagery: in presenting the vices of civilized men he contrasts his villains not merely with Caliban the savage, or the supernatural people of the island, companions of Ariel, but also with the charitable Gonzalo, the just and learned Prospero, and even the pure and lovely Miranda herself.

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² It should be remembered that *Caliban* is a possible variant of *Cannibal*, or even, like it, a form of *Carib*, the name of a West Indian and South American people, encountered by Columbus, whose name is now best known through the Caribbean Sea. See the *New English Dictionary* (under *Caliban*, and *Cannibal*), and *Caliban's Visits to England* by Sir Sidney Lee (*Cornhill Magazine*, March, 1913). Shakespeare may have heard the form *Caliban*, or even seen it written.

↓ PROFESSOR FITZMAURICE-KELLY AND THE SOURCE
OF SHAKESPEARE'S TEMPEST.

. . . puesto que la verdad bien puede enfermar pero no morir del todo. (Cervántes)

PROFESSOR Fitzmaurice-Kelly, on page 290 of his *Littérature Espagnole*, Paris 1913, says:

. . . Antonio de Eslava qui serait oublié depuis longtemps si Shakespeare n'avait pas tiré *The Tempest* des *Noches de Invierno* (1609).

If it is true that the Fourth Chapter of the *Noches de Invierno* is the source of the *Tempest*, then the discovery must be attributed to whom it is due, namely to *Edmund Dorer*, who was the first to suggest this idea in the *Magazin für die Litteratur des In- und Auslandes* (CVII, 77) vom 31 Januar 1885.

Suggesting another explanation, I reprinted an episode from the *Caballero del Febo*¹ in the *Cultura Española* (XII, 1023 and XV, 733) de noviembre de 1908 y de agosto de 1909, as the source of the Fourth Chapter of the *Noches de Invierno*, and again the same episode in the *Shakespeare-Jahrbuch*, XLVII, 128 as the source of the *Tempest*. As neither of the two articles is mentioned in the *Littérature Espagnole*, it will perhaps not be amiss to reprint here the late Sr. Menéndez y Pelayo's opinion of my Spanish paper: Madrid, 21 de Mayo de 1908.

Sr. D. José de Perott

Muy Sr mio, de mi estimación: Por haber estado ausente de Madrid no he escrito á Vd. antes participándole el recibo de sus excelentes y eruditas investigaciones sobre las fuentes de las *Noches de Invierno* de Eslava, q. ojalá hubiera conocido yo cuando tuve q. escribir sobre aquel libro.² El trabajo de Vd. es muy interesante

¹ See the bibliography of this novel of chivalry in the *Romanic Review*, IV, 397.

² See Menéndez y Pelayo, *Orígenes de la Novela*, Tomo II, Madrid, 1907, p. CXXI.

y digno de q. se publique, y con este objeto se le he entregado á mi querido amigo y discípulo D. Ramón Menéndez y Pidal, q. es uno de los directores de la revista *Cultura Española*. Se publicará en uno de los próximos números, y con este objeto le he comunicado las varias adiciones q. Vd. me ha remitido. Supongo q. ya habrá escrito á Vd. sobre este punto.

Por mi parte, le doy las gracias por esta útil contribución al estudio de nuestra historia literaria, y quedo suyo afmo s.s.q.s.m.b.
M. Menéndez y Pelayo

As to my second paper, I must content myself with giving a list of verbal borrowings in the Protasis-Scene of the *Tempest*, from the text reprinted in *Shakespeare-Jahrbuch*, XLVII, 128: *The First Part of the Mirrour of Princely deedes and Knighthood*. Imprinted at London by Thomas Este (no date; but the second volume bears the date of 1599), f. 148. Here is the list:

then to trouble himselfe with the care of gouerning.

(*The Mirrour* f. 148);

and to him put
The mannage of my state.

.....
The Gouernment I cast vpon my brother,
And to my State grew stranger.

(*Temp.* I, 2, 69-70, 75-76);

Aboue all hee studied the Art Magicke, wher by his paines at length came to the most absolute perfection of all Asia.

(*The Mirrour*, f. 148);

and for the liberall Artes,
Without a parallell.

(*Temp.* I, 2, 73-74);

my sister and those waiting women which you haue seene.

(*The Mirrour*, f. 148);

Had I not
Fowre, or fíue women once, that tended me?

(*Temp.* I, 2, 46-47);

The Emperours shippe rushed on the shoare.

(*The Mirrour*, f. 14);

How came we a shore?

(*Temp.* I, 2, 158);

the forward ship arriued in a faire and delectable Iland.

(*The Mirrour*, f. 14);

Heere in this Iland we arriu'd.

(*Temp.* I, 2, 171);

the chariot tooke landing.

(*The Mirrour*, f. 14);

The Kings sonne have I landed by himselfe.

(*Temp.* I, 2, 221);

without any lacke of sufficient foode.

(*The Mirrour*, f. 14);

Some food, we had.

(*Temp.* I, 2, 160);

the Emperour leaped into it.

(*The Mirrour*, f. 14);

Was the first man that leapt.

(*Temp.* I, 2, 214);

louing to bee solitarie.

The corresponding passage in the Spanish original runs as follows:
Y como se viesse tan solo de su buena compaña, ni se si fue por des-
contento que tenia del mundo, o por tener mas soledad y sosiego para
exercitarse en su estudio. . . .

(*The Mirrour*, f. 148);

being transported

And rapt in secret studies.

I thus neglecting worldly ends, all dedicated

To closenes, and the bettering of my mind.

(*Temp.* I, 2, 76-77, 89-90);

The Emperour Trebatio pursuing those which had stolne his
lady, left all his knights, & tooke another way.³

³ Title of the chapter in which the story is told.

(*The Mirrour*, f. 12);

he hath lost his fellowes,

And strays about to finde 'em.

(*Temp.* I, 2, 416-417);

the shippe rent in peeces.

(*The Mirrour*, f. 14);

Dash'd all to peeces.

(*Temp.* I, 2, 8);

and being on the hatches,

(*The Mirrour*, f. 14);

The Marriners all vnder hatches stowed.

(*Temp.* I, 2, 230);

and yet this chaunge proceeded . . . rather by the sacred vertue of the place . . .

(*The Mirrour*, f. 16);

But doth suffer a Sea-change.

(*Temp.* I, 2, 400);

The very vertue of compassion in thee.

(*Temp.* I, 2, 27);

In my Spanish article I called attention to a novelette of *Márcos Martínez* which constitutes the chapters XXVII, XXVIII and XXIX of the first book of the Fourth Part of the *Caballero del Febo*. The most cursory perusal of this novelette would convince anybody that we have here the *chief* source of Philip Massinger's *A Very Woman*. In spite of that Prof. Fitzmaurice-Kelly prefers to follow in the track of *Moris Rapp*,⁴ without naming him, by calling *El Amante Liberal* the source of the English play (*Littérature Espagnole*, p. 291). As a matter of fact, the novel of Cervantes had only a secondary influence on Massinger's play.

WORCESTER, MASS.,

August 15, 1914

JOSEPH DE PEROTT

⁴ *Studien über das englische Theater*, Tübingen, 1862, p. 246.

THE PRIORESS'S OATH

THE sketch of the Prioress, in the Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*, is a masterpiece of subtly penetrating characterization.¹ Every stroke tells; every concrete detail carries with it an aura of associations,² and it is these associations that blend into the delicately ironical yet exquisitely sympathetic portrayal of a clash of ideals too lightly touched to be even remotely tragic, too deftly suggested at point after point to miss its delightfully human appeal. That the gentle Prioress's greatest oath was by no fortuitous saint—the mere accident of rhyme³—we may be very sure. But its full characterizing value will certainly elude our twentieth-century perceptions until we have learned to think of St. Eligius as the fourteenth century thought of him. And the fourteenth century thought of him, as it happens, in such a way as to put the aptness of his association with the Prioress beyond all question. No detail is unimportant that adds to what we know of Chaucer's art, and I make no apology for dwelling on what in itself may seem to be a minor point.

¹ I have elsewhere ("Simple and Coy," *Anglia*, XXXIII, Oct., 1910, pp. 440-51) studied in some detail the art which Chaucer has lavished on this fourteenth-century "Portrait of a Lady."

² Such as the connotation of the Prioress's table-manners in their original setting in Jean de Meun; the implications of "simple and coy"; the hint of the conventions of courtly love in the description of the Prioress's looks; the happy ambiguity of the motto on the brooch. See *Anglia*, XXXIII, 440-42; *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXIII, 297, n. 2.

³ That the rhyme had something to do with it, is obvious enough. But one cannot always tell which rhyme in a couplet came first in the poet's mind (see, for two cases in point, *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXIII, 287-88), and anyway the disclosure of a sort of Cartesian preëstablished harmony between rhyme and reason is one of the prerogatives of the poetic gift. To insist that every second rhyme in a large part of Chaucer is the creature of its final vocable would be to make it "rym dogerel" with a vengeance. Rhyme limits the poet's range of choice, but "in der Beschränkung zeigt sich erst der Meister."

I

The career of Saint Eligius is one of rather peculiar interest. Beginning life as a goldsmith's apprentice, he became the founder of a remarkable and still flourishing branch of his craft, the confidential adviser of two kings, and a man of large affairs; he withdrew from the court and took orders, and was promptly elevated to a bishopric, devoting his art (which he still practiced) now exclusively to the service of the church; and about him there grew up in time a mass of legendary material, much of which had little to do with his real significance. He was at once, in a word, an artist and a courtier and a saint, a man of great physical beauty, and a lover, in his earlier days, of personal adornment. And those who glorified him as a saint did not forget the striking characteristics of the man.⁴

⁴ His life was written by his friend and fellow-worker St. Ouen. This life is printed, with an invaluable historical introduction by its editor, Bruno Krusch, in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica (Scriptorum Rerum Merovingicarum)*, tomus IV, 1902, pp. 634-731. See the review in the *Analecta Bollandista*, vol. xxii, p. 108. It is also to be found in Ghesquiere, *Acta Sanctorum Belgii Selecta* (Brussels, 1785), vol. iii, pp. 198-311, together with the "Analecta Eligiana" (pp. 311-331) of Cornelius Smetius; in Surius, *Historiae seu Vitae Sanctorum* (Augustae Taurinorum, 1880), vol. xii, pp. 5-62; and in d'Achery, *Spicilegium* (Paris, 1723), vol. ii, pp. 76-123 ff. A resumé of his life is given in Guérin, *Les Petites Bollandistes Vies des Saints*, vol. xiv (Paris, 1878), p. 415. See also Baring-Gould, *The Lives of the Saints* (London, 1877), volume for December, pp. 2-9. The fullest and most valuable discussion of St. Eligius (after that of Krusch) is in the two articles by Louis de Nussac: "Saint Éloi, sa légende et son culte," *Bulletin de la Société scientifique, historique et archéologique de la Corrèze*, vol. xvii (1895), pp. 529-652; "Saint Éloi, ses résidences en Limousin," *ibid.*, vol. xix, pp. 309-339. The following authorities I have not seen: Alph. van Loo, *Levensschets van den Heiligen Eligius*, Gand, 1894; Ozanam, *Vies des Saints de l'Atelier*, Tours, 1895; *Vie de saint Éloi, artiste, homme d'état, évêque*, Bruges et Lille, 1895; K. Nyrop, "St. Eligius," in *Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, 2d series, vol. xiv (1899), pp. 155-66; Edm. de Vos, *Leven van den heiligen Eligius bekend onder den naam van Sint Eloy*, Bruges, 1900 (rev. *Anal. Boll.*, xx, 226); Paul Parsy, *Saint Éloi (Les Saints)*, Paris, 1907 (rev. *Anal. Boll.*, xxvi, 477); M. Moulé, "Saint Éloi guérisseur et la légende du pied coupé," in *Bulletin de la Soc. Franç. d'Hist. de la Médecine*, Paris, 1910; Antonio Medin, "La leggenda popolare di S. Eligio e sua iconografia," in *Atti del R. Istituto Veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti*, vol. lxx (1910-1911), pp. 775-802 (rev. *Anal. Boll.*, xxxi, 359; *Mélusine*, xi, 463); Corblet, *Hagiographie du diocèse d'Amiens*, vol. iv, pp. 238 ff.; *Bulletin de la société hist. et archéol. du Limousin*, vol. xlvi (1896), pp. 7-58. For further bibliography with special reference to St. Eligius and folk-lore, see below, p. 383.

He was born about 590 in the town of Chatelac (Chaptelat), and he was early apprenticed to a goldsmith named Abbon in the neighboring city of Limoges. From Limoges, as his reputation grew, he went to Paris, and he next appears in association with the *trésorier* of Clotaire II. The excellence of his work, and his apparently somewhat surprising probity gained him the confidence and personal friendship of the king. On the accession of Dagobert in 629 Eligius rose still higher in the royal favor.⁵ He was admitted to the secret counsels of the king;⁶ he had intimate connection with the coinage of the realm;⁷ and he was sent on at least one important diplomatic mission.⁸ His position at the court of Dagobert was one of eminence,⁹ and with his secular activities he joined an assiduous practice of good works.¹⁰ On the death of Dagobert in 639 Eligius renounced his offices, and withdrew from worldly affairs. In 641 (according to some authorities, 642) he was made Bishop of Noyon, but his activities in the adornment of churches and sepulchres with gold, silver, and precious stones continued without interruption.¹¹ The rest of his career does not concern us here.

⁵ The relations between Dagobert and Eligius survive in the racy and anything but reverent lines of the well-known folksong, "Le bon Roi Dagobert." See *Chants et Chansons populaires de la France*, Paris, 1858; Weckerlin, *Chansons populaires de France*, vol. ii, pp. 127 ff.; etc.

⁶ *Vita*, Lib. I, cap. 12.

⁷ See Krusch, pp. 641-43, with the full references there given, for a discussion of the significance of the Merovingian coins bearing the name of Eligius, and compare de Nussac, xvii, 602-03. For a clear and convincing argument for the identity of Eligius the *monétaire* and St. Eligius, see d'Amécourt, "Les monétaires francs. Encore Abbon et Saint Éloi," in *Annuaire de la Soc. franç. de numism.*, 1882, pp. 79-81, quoted in Engel et Serrure, *Traité de numismatique du moyen âge* (Paris, 1891), vol. i, pp. 77-79. For a description of the various coins bearing the signature of Eligius see *ibid.*, pp. 79-84. Compare the passage from Machaut, quoted below, p. 372.

⁸ Krusch, p. 635.

⁹ See *Vita*, Lib. I, caps. 9-10, and compare Krusch's statement (p. 635): "Tantum auctoritatis et gloriae in palatio assecutus est, ut legati peregrini advenientes regem Francorum non prius salutasse dicantur, quam ipsum adissent, victus necessaria aut consilium salubre poscentes."

¹⁰ On his founding of the Abbey of Solignac in 622, see *Vita*, Lib. I, caps. 15-16; Krusch, pp. 636-37; de Nussac, xix, 325-37. Compare Krusch, pp. 637-638, for an account of the other foundations of Eligius, and for the lavish use of his art in the adornment of the sepulchres of the saints.

¹¹ *Vita*, Lib. II, caps. 6-7; Krusch, p. 640. Compare especially the account

His reputation, however, does, and that grew steadily. The provenience of his cult is amazing in its extent,¹² and Krusch's statement seems to be amply justified by the evidence: "Eligium Flandrenses et Novismagenses et Lemovicini patronum peculiarem sibi vindicant neque vero cultus eius eorum terminis coercebatur, sed Galliae fines longe transgressus est atque dubitari vix potest, quin inter celeberrimos totius ecclesiae occidentalis sanctos eum enumerari liceat."¹³ And it is precisely in that part of France from which it would most readily pass across the channel into England that his fame was greatest. "L'aire géographique," says de Nussac, "où le culte de l'évêque de Tournay et de Noyon est le plus fréquent, le plus intense, a pour centre certainement les Flandres et la Picardie."¹⁴ And in his cult, apart from the purely legendary aspects

in the French metrical version of his life (see below, p. 376) of his adornment of the tombs, closing with the lines:

Or, gemmes et toute autre rien,
Li sains l'emploïoit mout très bien,
Et fist de si noble aparel
Chel ouvrage que son parel,
Ne de biauté ne de vaillanche
Ne set-on nul en toute Franche.
Chil qui le voient mout le loent,
Neis chil qui parler en oent

(ed. Peigné-Delacourt, p. 58).

There is evidence that Eligius's connection with the coinage also continued after his elevation to the bishopric. See Engel et Serrure, vol. i, pp. 82-84.

¹² See particularly the following divisions of de Nussac's articles in the *Bulletin . . . de Corrèze*: "II. Culte et Légendes de Saint Éloi en France: 1. A Noyon; 2. A Paris; 3. En Ile-de-France et dans le Nord; 4. En Lorraine; 5. Dans l'Est" (vol. xvii, pp. 543-69); "III. [cont.] 1. En Bretagne et dans l'Ouest; 2. Dans le centre et le Midi" (pp. 570-86); "IV. Culte et Légendes a l'Étranger: En Italie; En Suisse; En Allemagne; En Flandres et Belgique" (pp. 587-600); "V. Saint Éloi Limousin" (pp. 601-636); in vol. xix: "I. Chap-telat" (pp. 309-318); "II. Limoges" (pp. 319-324); "III. Solignac" (pp. 325-337). See also Krusch, p. 641; *Mélusine*, vol. viii, pp. 154-55 (Belgium, Germany, Italy, Paris); *ibid.*, pp. 208-209 (Rome, Alsace); vol. xi, p. 446 (Bretagne).

¹³ P. 641.

¹⁴ *Bulletin . . . de Corrèze*, vol. xvii, pp. 601-602. That Eligius was well known in England at a later period the references cited in Skeat (*Oxford Chaucer*, v, 13-14) make clear. See also below, p. 384. And his name occurs frequently in the contemporary French poets with whom Chaucer was familiar.

to be treated later, one element stands out sharply. Eligius is now recognized by the best authorities in the field as the founder of the great school of enamel-work that centres at Limoges.¹⁵ But even from the very first it was on his craftsmanship that his fame rested. It was as the artificer of objects of beauty consecrated to the glory of God that St. Eligius was known all over France, and the widespread attribution to him of chalices, crosses, censers, and reliquaries of cunning workmanship found in churches and abbeys throughout the land bears witness to the hold which his distinction as an artist gained upon the popular mind.¹⁶

Compare, for example, his association with the *mint* in Machaut (*Oeuvres*, ed. Tarbé, p. 120):

Et se tu faist forger monnoie,
Pour Dieu, fai li tele qu'on oïe
Dire qu'elle est de bon aloi;
Car je te jur, par Saint Eloy,
Qu'il n'est chose grant ne petite
Dont personne soit tant maudite.

Compare also Froissart (Ed. Scheler, ii, 347):

Car là fu le jour saint Eloi,
Qui siet dou droit à lendemain.
Et recorde que point de pain,
Char ne poisson ne aultre arrin,
Ne menguent son jour, à fin
Qu'il soient gardé de misere,
De contraire et de mort amere;
Tant ont il grant fiance en li
Que cascuns en bien persevere
Le jour où chils haus sains nasqui.

See also below, p. 376.

¹⁵ The most important treatment of Eligius's contribution to the development of the art of inlaying plaques of gold or silver upon less precious metals is found in Ernest Rupin's definitive work, *L'Oeuvre de Limoges*, Paris, 1892, pp. 30-41. See also the references in Krusch, pp. 643-644; de Nussac, xvii, 601-607. De Nussac's summary may be quoted here: "Orfèvre-émailleur, les oeuvres du ministre de Dagobert se sont répandues en de nombreux sanctuaires de France . . . Dans un ouvrage définitif pour la question M. Ernest Rupin a déterminé quelle grande personnalité saint Eloi s'était faite dans les annales de l'art français: Il a donné l'essor à une industrie artistique qui, par douze siècles de production incessante, a continué la diffusion de son culte dans le monde civilisé" (*Bulletin . . . de Corrèze*, xvii, 529).

¹⁶ See the list of the works attributed to St. Eligius in Rupin, pp. 30-31, and in de Nussac, xvii, 605-606. Compare especially de Nussac, xvii, 604:

In the very service of the church itself this fact stands out in bold relief, and at no time more than during the century just preceding Chaucer's, as well as during Chaucer's own.¹⁷ For the hymns to St. Eligius are very numerous, and with few exceptions they lay stress upon his peculiar office of lending beauty to the symbols of holiness. I shall cite a few typical stanzas.

Sanctus Dei dum sculpebat
Regis utensilia,
Textus sacri praeferibat
Oculis eloquia,
Quibus rapta mens ardebat
Amplecti coelestia.¹⁸

Verbo, virtute, sanguine
Lemovicis enituit,
Latens sub fabri nomine
Late lucerna claruit.

Ut advenit Lutetiam,
Regis ibi Lotharii
Plenam favor in gratiam
Provenit aurificii.

Artis in exercitio
Fabrum contemplans omnium,
Quaestus fabрили pretio
Famem pavit egentium.¹⁹

"Cette spécialité [i. e., Eligius's undoubted practice of his art] imprima pour toujours le souvenir du saint de tous côtés en France où son culte, de ce fait, se popularisa étonnamment, devint si fort que l'on créa de véritables légendes en lui attribuant des oeuvres limousines qui, certes, portent le cachet d'autres siècles que le sien." This was particularly true, as it happens, just before Chaucer's day: "Du vii^e au xii^e siècle (cinq cents ans!) c'est la période d'incubation pour le culte et la légende. L'orfèvre et le monétaire devient le forgeron, le maréchal, le héros du pied coupé. . . . D'un autre côté, à la fin du x^e siècle, avec l'âge féodal enfin organisé, naît la civilisation limousine dont l'orfèvrerie et l'emaillerie sont le côté artistique le plus brillant. A la faveur de l'expansion et de la fortune grandissante des oeuvres de Limoges du xi^e au xiii^e siècle, se ravive la figure du fondateur de Solignac" (de Nussac, p. 639).

¹⁷ See the close of the last note above. The hymns of the church offer a striking confirmation of de Nussac's statement.

¹⁸ *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, ed. Dreves, Heft xix, p. 124, no. 199 (thirteenth century).

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, no. 200 (thirteenth century). See also no. 201.

Praeter utensilia
 Mensis apta regiis
 Vasa cudit propria
 Sanctorum reliquiis.²⁰

Cum gemmas auro foederat
 Materiam exsuperat
 Operis industria,
 Cumque manus operatur
 Lectione saginatur
 Otii mens nescia.²¹

Of particular interest is the long biographical hymn (too long entirely for quotation here) of the thirteenth century, beginning "Ad honorem salvatoris."²² That these particular hymns were known to Chaucer it would be hazardous to assume. But they demonstrate not only the peculiar character, but also the wide provenience of this aspect of the cult of St. Eloy.²³

²⁰ *Ibid.*, Heft xl, no. 199 (thirteenth and fourteenth centuries). Also in Chevalier, in *Bibliothèque Liturgique*, Tome VII (*Sacramentaire et Martyrologie de l'abbaye de Saint-Remy*), p. 390.

²¹ *Ibid.*, Heft ix, no. 190 (thirteenth and fourteenth centuries), p. 145. Also in Weale, *Analecta liturgica*, Pars II¹, no. 347, p. 485. See also *Analecta liturgica*, Pars II¹, nos. 229 (p. 337), 263 (p. 378); Pars II², nos. 586 (p. 188), 822 (p. 479).

²² *Analecta hymnica*, Heft xlv, no. 123. The group of four hymns (nos. 122-125), of which this is one, is uncommonly illuminating.

²³ For still other hymns to St. Eligius, see *Analecta hymnica*, Heft viii, no. 153 (p. 121); Heft ix, nos. 197-200 (pp. 115-117); Heft xxiii, no. 276 (p. 164); Heft xxv, no. 89 (pp. 250-253); Heft xxxvii, no. 180 (p. 161); Heft xlii, no. 212 (p. 196). Most of the hymns just referred to are from Mss. of the fifteenth century, but are in many cases themselves of earlier date, and they are frequently even more explicit in their emphasis than those from which I have quoted. See also the list of hymns to St. Eligius in Chevalier, *Repertorium hymnologicum*, I, nos. 5342-5345 (p. 320), esp. no. 5343: *Eligi, praesul inclyte, athleta christi splendide, | adesto —*; III, no. 26058 (p. 193). It is of at least curious interest to observe that this very aspect of the work of St. Eligius was emphasized in hymnology as late as the seventeenth century. See the remarkable group of hymns to St. Eligius by Claude Santeul, edited by Chevalier in *Bibliothèque liturgique*, Tome XII (*Hymnes et Proses inédites de Claude Santeul*), Paris, 1909, nos. 297-305 (pp. 203-209), and nos. 470-473 (pp. 354-356). Among these nos. 298, 470-473 are the most striking. Two stanzas will be sufficient to illustrate the persistence of the tradition:

Artis exornas opus, ars vicissim
 Ornat authorem, pretiosa gaudet
 Sponte tractari manibus beatis
 Subdita moles.

Skeat's statement, then, that St. Eligius "was a goldsmith"²⁴ is perfectly true so far as it goes, but it minimizes both the scope and the significance of his art. It was as a great and cunning master workman in precious metals, whose craft was devoted to the adorning of sacred things, that he was remembered far and wide. And the suggestion that the Prioress used his name because "she seems to have been a little given to a love of gold and corals"²⁵—though it comes, I think, close to the mark—overlooks the really salient point. The brooch on the rosary sums up in a master-stroke the subtle analysis of the Prioress's character—the delicately suggested clash between her worldly and her religious aspirations. And the brooch on the rosary is in point of fact (though I do not for a moment suppose that Chaucer definitely meant it so) no less symbolic of the work of St. Eligius. Whatever the considerations may have been that kept the Prioress from invocation of the greater saints, there could at least have been no doubt in her mind of a friendly comprehension of her character and needs on the part of the one-time artist-bishop of Noyon.

I have no intention of pushing to its limits the curious analogy between the Prioress herself and the special saint whose name, to her mind, carried greatest weight.²⁶ But certain points are obvious enough, and must, without much doubt, have been in Chaucer's mind. In the eyes of the woman who "peyned hir to countrefete chere Of court, and been estatlich of manere," a *courtier-saint* would, to say the least, suffer no derogation. And if the *courtier-saint* were also fair to look upon, and not without a weakness (however ultimately subdued) for personal adornment, his appeal would not thereby be lessened to the nun who paid no small at-

Quas pius sculpis superum figuras,

In tuos mira trahis arte mores;

Facta conaris rediviva veris

Reddere factis (no. 471, stanzas 3-4).

²⁴ *Oxford Chaucer*, v, 13.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

²⁶ "Hir gretteste oath was *but* by seynt Loy" seems to involve two implications—first, that to the Prioress herself the oath by St. Eloy meant very much indeed; second, that after all, as compared with such "othes . . . grete and . . . dampnable" as (for instance) those of the Host—"By *corpus bones*"; "By *godes bones*"; "By *mayles* and by blood"; "By the croys which that seint Eleyne fond"—the Prioress's greatest oath was mild enough.

tention to the pleating of her wimple; whose cloak was "fetis" enough to strike a shrewd observer's eye;²⁷ whose smiling was "ful simple and coy"; and whose mouth was still soft and red. And as for St. Eligius we have striking testimony. For St. Ouen is, as it were, constrained to give *his* "as I was war." After a long account of Eligius's good works, he suddenly breaks off. "Sed dum vidi hominem," he exclaims, "cur etiam non et formulam eius depingam?" And he continues:

Erat enim statura prolixus et facie rubicundus; gerebat caesariem formosam et crinem quoque circillatam; manus habebat honestas et digitos longos, angelico vultu, simplice et prudente visu. Utebatur quidem in primordio aurum et gemmas in habitu; habebat quoque zonas ex auro et gemmis compositas necnon et bursas eliganter gemmatos; lineas²⁸ vero metallo rutilas orasque sarcarum²⁹ auro opertas, cuncta quidem vestimenta praetiosissima, nonnulla etiam olosirica. Sed haec omnia ob ostentationem fugiendam primo tempore utebatur in palam, intrinsecus vero ad carnem cili-cium gestabat ex consuetudine. Postea vero, cum adauctius profecit, cuncta ornamenta in egentium necessitatibus consumpsit. Videres plerumque ire funiculo cinctum, vilibus vestibus tectum, quem videbas dudum radientia aurum et gemmarum mole oper-tum.³⁰

Even more interesting, however, is the passage as it appears in a thirteenth-century French translation of St. Ouen's *Life*.³¹ For phrased as it is by Gérard de Montreuil the description of the Saint reads like an excerpt from any poem of courtly love:

Li miroirs de l'escriture
Me dist que de longe estature
Estoit mesires sains Eloys.
Blanche ert sa chars si comme nois,

²⁷ Chaucer's "as I was war" is no mere tag.

²⁸ "Vestis interior, stricta, ex lino confecta" (Ducange).

²⁹ "Idem quod saraca vel sarica, genus pallii vel tunicae species" (Ducange).

³⁰ *Vita*, Lib. I, cap. 12.

³¹ *Les Miracles de Saint Éloi. Poème du XIII^e Siècle*, ed. Peigné-Delacourt (Beauvais, Noyon et Paris, n. d.). The manuscript (in the Bodleian Library) is described by Peigné-Delacourt on pp. 2-4. It belonged originally to the Abbey of St. Éloi at Noyon, was lost in 1591, when the Abbey was sacked by Henri de Bourbon, turned up in Paris in 1605, and eventually came to England. The poem itself is by Gérard de Montreuil, and was completed in 1294 (see Peigné-Delacourt, pp. 10 ff., 126).

Vermaus de fache et iex mult biaux,
 Et rechierchelés des caviaus,
 Beles mains, dois d'ongles et lons,
 Simple regart comme coulons,
 Augel où vont douche raison
 Avoit le debonnaire hom.
 Li sains en son commencement,
 D'or et de gemmes noblement
 Apareilloit ses vestéures:
 Adiès chaignoit riches chaintures,
 Ablouque d'or menu ferées
 De membres d'or et bien gemmées,
 Aveuc tout che, les aumosnieres
 Avoit tant riches et tant chieres
 D'or et de gemmes bien ouvrées,
 De boutons d'or enfrangelées;
 Ses dois avoit tous plains d'aniaux,
 Et à son col riches fremaus,
 Et chemises mult très deliés
 De liex en liex bien très lichiés
 De fil d'or et de fil de soie:
 Qui ne m'en croit et livre voie.
 Il se vestoit mult noblement,
 Et noble erent si garnement.
 Pourpres et cendaus et samis,
 Vestoit adiès li dieu amis,
 Proprement, en l'entention
 D'esconser sa religion;
 Car par desous à la char nue
 Avoit adès haire vestue,³² etc.

Even in the *Miracles de Notre Dame* Eloy remains the beau ideal of "a verray parfit gentil" saint. In the "Miracle de l'evesque

³² Ed. Peigné-Delacourt, p. 31. That Chaucer intended to suggest in his account of the Prioress a touch of amorosness—an interpretation which Mr. Percy Mackaye elaborates wholly without warrant (as it seems to me) in his *Canterbury Pilgrims*—I do not for a moment mean to hint. But his emphasis is strongly upon the *woman* underneath the trappings of the nun; the beauty and accomplishments of her St. Loy are part and parcel of his legend; and like the other details they are at least in harmony with the Prioress's predilections. Compare the account of the chaplain whom the equally courtly Abbess Ermine "moult ama" in the *Roman de Galerent* (ed. Boucherie, ll. 902 ff.).

a qui Nostre Dame s'apparut"³³ he is master of the heavenly ceremonies. It is he who, accompanying Our Lady with St. John, gives the archangels their cue to sing:

SAINT ELOY

De cuer yray; faire le doy.
Seigneurs anges, devant mouvez
Et chantez si com vous savez
En alant la.

MICHIEL

Bien chanterons, n'en doubtiez ja.
Sus, Gabriel

GABRIEL

Avant commençons ce rondel.
C'est chançon trop melodieuse.³⁴ . . .

SAINT ELOY

Avant, seigneurs, or y parra
Comment ce rondel finerez,
Ne comment bons chantres serez
A ceste foiz.

GABRIEL

Michiel, de faire oir noz voiz
Arons nous pensée soingneuse³⁵

SAINT ELOY

Avant, seigneurs, a haulte voiz,
Par amour ce rondel pardites,
Qu'aviez commencé, quant venistes
Cy en ceste estre.

GABRIEL

Nous le saronz bien a fin mettre.
Avant, Michiel, je vous em pri,
Prenons ensemble sanz detri:
C'est, ce m'est avis, le meilleur.³⁶

³³ *Miracles de Nostre Dame* (Soc. des anc. textes fr.), vol. ii, pp. 55-87.

³⁴ P. 72, ll. 366-373.

³⁵ P. 75, ll. 477-483.

³⁶ P. 80, ll. 602-609.

And it is he who is honored with the office of Our Lady's cup-bearer:

NOSTRE DAME

Eloy, vueilliez a moy entendre.
Devant moy portez ce vaissel.
Et vous, Michiel et Gabriel,
En allant chanterez vous deux.
Jehan, ne demourez pas seulx.
Vous en venrez avecques nous
Jusqu'en ce moustier. Or sus, touz,
Mouvez, mouvez.

SAINT JEHON

Voulientiers, puisque c'est voz grez,
Dame, g'iray.

SAINT ELOY

Aussi feray j'et porteray
Ce vaissel honnorablement,
Il appartient bien vraiment,
C'est chose digne

NOSTRE DAME

Eloy prez de moy vous traiez,
Ce vaissiau d'or me rebailliez
Que vous baillay.

SAINT ELOY

Je ne vous en feray delay:
Vez le cy, dame.³⁷

In like fashion, in the "Miracle de un enfant que Nostre Dame resucita,"³⁸ it is St. Eloy who courteously ushers out from the scene of the miracle both God and Our Lady with fitting song:

NOSTRE DAME

Chier ilz, ceste honneur leur ferez,
S'il vous plaist, et je vous em pri

³⁷ Pp. 78-79, ll. 542-555, 579-582.

³⁸ Vol. ii, pp. 281-346.

Qu'apres eulx alons sanz detry.
 Vezcy qui seront noz convoiz
 Et chanteront a haulte voiz,
 Si que pour leurs cuers resjoir
 Vous leur donrez du chant oir,
 S'il vous plaist, grace.

DIEU

Il me plaist, mére, qu'il se face.
 Seigneurs vous oez qu'elle dit.
 Or sus, trestouz, sanz contredit
 Si en alons.

SAINT ELOY

Vray Dieu, vostre vouloir ferons,
 Mes amis, sanz faire descort,
 Je vous pri chantons par accort
 Et de doulx traiz.

[Rondel]³⁹

The "chere of court" learned under Clotaire and Dagobert Eloy clearly practiced with due decorum in the courts above, and he seems to have commended himself to Our Lady—and why not to the Prioress?—by being "ful pleasaunt and amiable of port," and, even among the heavenly presences, most engagingly "estatlich of manere"!

In a word, St. Eloy was in his life as in his legend pretty much all that the Prioress either was or "peyned hir" to be, and the line that gives "hir gretteste ooth" seems to be one more characterizing touch, in perfect keeping with all the rest, in what is perhaps Chaucer's masterpiece of portraiture.⁴⁰ It is possible, of

³⁹ Pp. 343-344, ll. 1819-1834.

⁴⁰ Let me guard at once against a certain fallacy into which there is always danger that one may fall. That Chaucer thought explicitly and *seriatim* of all the qualities of St. Eloy that have been noted here, I hope some kindly saint will keep my readers from supposing I believe. What he knew of St. Eloy was doubtless an impression, based in part on what he may have read, in part on what he probably had heard. What has to be made even painfully explicit to us was matter of familiar knowledge in his day, and his felicitous choice of St. Eloy was doubtless a flash of inspiration, under the happy guidance (very probably) of his rhyme. At all events, he did not have to read an article on

course, that St. Eloy was named at random. In that case, one of the most felicitous touches in a composition, every remaining line of which gives evidence of consummate art, is accident. "Now demeth as yow liste, ye that can."⁴¹

St. Eloy to recognize the aptness of the touch! That misfortune is ours, in virtue of our having been born some centuries too late. That a labored exposition is necessary to interpret a flash of genius is unfortunate, because we are prone to read back the exposition into the creative act, and instinctively and properly rebel. The exposition is of value only as it reconstructs the hovering associations that all at once focussed, precipitated themselves—or whatever figure one may use—in the poet's mind.

⁴¹ Professor Hales's interpretation of the line (*Folia Litteraria*, pp. 102-105) is quoted, with varying degrees of assent, by most of the commentators. It is based upon the account, in St. Ouen's *Life*, of Eligius's refusal, on one occasion, to swear by the relics of the saints. "And thus we arrive," says Professor Hales, "at what I have already said appears to be the real sense of the words, viz., the Prioress never swore at all" (p. 104). Once more: "He [Eligius] forswore swearing, so to speak; and so an oath by Eloy would mean an oath according to his usage [but *would* it? Such a use of 'by' in an oath is absolutely without parallel], i. e., such an oath as he might have uttered or approved, i. e., no oath at all" (p. 105). The passage in question is found in Book I, chapter 6 of the *Vita*:

"Me praesente, nescio quam ob causam, nisi quod facile datur intellegi fidelitatis obtento, dum apud regem puerolus habitarem, quadam die Rotoilo in agro accito rex Eligio quoram reliquias sanctorum praecipiebat ei, ut impositione manuum sacris pignoribus donaret sacramentum; sed ille divino intuitu verens, recusare humiliter omni nisu temptabat. Cumque instantius id facere compelleretur, anxius valde coepit mox ubertim lacrimas profundere, metuens scilicet regem offendere septuplumque pavens sanctis pignoribus manus imponere. Intuens itaque rex eius timorem simulque mirans tantam viri devotionem, desiit ultra eum cogere, sed magis blande liniterque demulcens laetissimo illum vultu dimisit, pollicens se plus eum ex hoc iam crediturum, quam si multimodo tunc dedisset iuramenta."

But the occurrence is not given as showing St. Eloy's *usage*, nor, indeed, does this incident in his career seem to have found its way into general knowledge at all. And there is not a shred of evidence that the very common oath by St. Eloy ever meant any such thing. The interpretation, I think it must be said, is hopelessly forced.

Miss Hammond's implied suggestion (*Modern Language Notes*, vol. xxii, Feb., 1907, p. 51), based on a passage from Lydgate ("And Seynt loye youre journey schall preserve"), that St. Eloy is invoked as a patron saint of *travellers*, is difficult to accept. For we are scarcely to assume that the line refers to the Prioress's language on her pilgrimage alone, and only on this assumption does the interpretation seem to have pertinence.

II

I wish to deal very briefly with another aspect of the cult and legend of St. Eloy, in its bearing, this time, on the carter's invocation of the saint in the Friar's Tale.⁴² I shall do little more than indicate the somewhat scattered sources of information.

There is in the *Life* by St. Ouen a single incident which connects St. Eloy definitely with *horses*. The story is told in the forty-seventh chapter of the second book.⁴³ Briefly summarized, it is as follows:

There belonged to St. Eloy, during his lifetime, an extremely docile horse (*equum unum inter ceteros mansuetissimum*), which after the saint's death became the property of the Abbot at Noyon. The bishop Mummolenus, however, coveted the horse, and took it by force (*violenter eum . . . subripuit*) from the abbot. The abbot invoked the saint, whereupon the horse fell sick (*coepit statim pedibus condolere, ac toto corpore marcescente, tabescens decadere*), and allowed no one to approach him (*cum ad eum aliquis accessisset, veluti fera agrestis in fremitus et calces prosiliens, laniare curatorem suum nitebatur*). The bishop thereupon presented the animal to a lady of his acquaintance (*matronae sibi dilectae*). No sooner had she mounted the horse than she was hurled to the ground, so that she lay in bed a year from her injuries (*eadem conquassatione laborans*). The unhappy lady returned the horse to the bishop, but it failed to yield to treatment, becoming, indeed, still worse (*tantum semper isdem in peius delabebatur*). Finally the bishop sent it back to the abbot, whereupon the horse returned to its former docility (*post paucos dies sanus factus equus ac mansuetissimus redditus, sub jure eiusdem abbatis permansit omni forma decorus*).

Whether or not this incident served as a starting point, there attached itself at all events to St. Eloy a legend of wide proveni-

⁴² This carter thakketh his hors upon the croupe,
And they bigonne drawn and to-stoupe;
"Heyt, now!" quod he, "ther Jesu Crist yow blesse,
And al his handwerk bothe more and lesse!
That was wel twight, myn owene lyard boy!
I pray god save thee and sēynt Loy!
Now is my cart out of the slow, pardee!"
(D. 1559-1565.)

⁴³ Krusch, pp. 726-727.

ence, associated at various times with many persons and many places—the well-known story of the *pieu coupé*.⁴⁴ The following summary of the legend I have condensed from the version given by de Nussac:

St. Eloy has set himself up as a *maréchal ferrant*, with a sign on his door that reads: "*Éloi, maître sur tous*." One day St. Peter appears in the guise of an apprentice, and asks for instruction. "Read my sign," says St. Eloy, and gives him a piece of metal from which he is to make a horse-shoe in three heatings (*chaudes*). St. Peter says he'll do it in one, and, to St. Eloy's astonishment, proceeds to do so. At this point a horse is brought in to be shod. St. Peter gets permission to do it in his own way. He immediately cuts off the horse's foot (the horse remaining meantime quite composed), clamps it in a vise, puts on the shoe, takes the foot out of the vise, puts it exactly into its place, gives it a tap—and the horse, after three leaps, goes off as before. Eloy, meantime, has been watching closely, and one day, in the absence of the supposed apprentice, another horse is brought in to be shod. Eloy at once cuts off its foot. The blood spurts out, and the horse is in agony. Eloy, however, adjusts the shoe, and then tries to put back the foot, but it won't stick. At this point St. Peter reappears, and restores the foot to its place. "Ah," cries St. Eloy, "it is you who are master, and not I!" "Heureux celui qui s'humilie, honte à celui qui s'exalte," replies the apostle, who now appears in his supernatural majesty, leaps on the horse behind the rider (who turns out to be St. George), and disappears. Eloy breaks his sign in pieces.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ See especially the long series of articles and communications by H. Gaidoz and others in *Mélusine*, vol. v, cols. 97-107, 170, 261; vol. vi, col. 125; vol. vii, cols. 25-26, 77-94, 157-158; vol. viii, cols. 30-31, 122-123, 153-156, 208-209; vol. ix, cols. 188-189; vol. x, cols. 241-243; vol. xi, cols. 89-92, 446, 463-465. See also de Nussac as above, esp. vol. xvii, pp. 531-542; Auricoste de Lazarque, *Saint-Éloi et le pèlerinage des chevaux, de Flastroff en Lorraine*, Strasbourg, Metz and Paris, 1888; François Marie Lazel, "La Légende de Saint Éloi" (extrait du *Bulletin de la Société Académique de Brest*); "Die Legende des h. Eligius" (*Neujahrsblatt herausgegeben von der Stadtbibliothek in Zürich*, 1874).

⁴⁵ De Nussac, vol. xvii, pp. 531-533. For other well-known variants of the same story, as referred to others that St. Eloy, see *ibid.*, pp. 533-539. Compare also *Mélusine*, vol. vii, cols. 83-87; vol. viii, cols. 122-127. For the connection of St. Eloy with the guilds, and the long lists of those of which he was patron, see *Mélusine*, vol. vii, cols. 81-82; vol. viii, cols. 128-129, 155; de Nussac, vol. xvii, p. 548 ff. For the supposed contamination of this legend with that of St. Apelle, see *Mélusine*, vol. vii, cols. 88-92. On the curious turn of the legend of St. Eloy to account for the origin of the ape, see *Mélusine*, vol. ix, cols. 188-189.

That St. Eloy should be invoked by carters, or by anyone who has to do with horses, is accordingly natural enough. Even today, "dans la contrée armoricaine, quand un cheval bâille, tousse ou éternue, on lui dit: *Que saint Éloi vous assiste!* comme l'on fait aux chrétiens: Dieu te benisse!"⁴⁶ And in England the carter's invocation was in common use long after Chaucer's day. In the *Early Works of Thomas Becon*,⁴⁷ "our new idolaters" are reproached for crying for help "as unto Luke for the ox, unto Job for the pox, unto Anthony for the pig, unto Loy for the horse."⁴⁸ So, in the *Early writings of Bⁿ Hooper*: "Every man, as his superstition leadeth him, he commendeth his . . . ox to God and St. Luke, his horse to God and St. Loye."⁴⁹

The Prioress's oath and the carter's invocation represent, then, two widely differing elements in the legend of the saint. And these two elements are aptly summarized at the close of de Nussac's illuminating article:

"La grâce qu'a saint Éloi est d'avoir à la fois un caractère très démocratique et une auréole dorée de mysticisme, très artistique, très aristocratique. Cela a sauvé ses traditions à un âge obscur entre tous, quand bien de ses illustres contemporains ont sombré dans l'oubli des peuples."⁵⁰

It is in this character "très aristocratique" that he attracts the gentle Prioress; as a figure "très démocratique" his name is also on the lips of the carter. The aptness and accuracy of Chaucer's employment of the legend in the second case admits no doubt. And there is every reason to believe that in the first the exquisite pertinence of the allusion is no accident.⁵¹

⁴⁶ De Nussac, vol. xvii, p. 576.

⁴⁷ Ed. Parker Society, p. 138. Becon lived from 1511 to 1567 or 1570.

⁴⁸ Ed. Parker Society, p. 309.

⁴⁹ To these may be added Professor Skeat's references in the *Oxford Chaucer*, v, 13-14.

⁵⁰ Vol. xvii, pp. 638-639.

⁵¹ Two curious points may be noted here. St. Eloy is still invoked among the "petites ouvrières de Paris," when they wish to see in a dream the young man whom they are to marry. "A cette effet, elles placent un miroir sous le traversin avec une mèche de cheveux et, avant de se coucher, disent cette formulette:

Je mets le pied sur l'antiboi,
Je prie le grand bon saint Éloi,

Qu'il me fasse voir en rêvant,
Le mari que j'aurai de mon vivant.

Puis elles récitent cinq *Pater* et cinq *Ave*" (de Nussac, vol. xvii p. 610, n.).

In early medical works and elsewhere there are references to a "mal de St. Éloi." See, for example, *Le Testament d Jehan de Meung* (ed. Méon, p. 64, in the section "De l'atour des femmes"):

Je n'en sai que cuidier, foi que je doi Saint George,
Fors qu'elles ont trové creste nouvelle forge
D'euls lier por monstrier leur menton et leur gorge,
Qui ne sunt mie teles d'iaue ne de pain d'orge.
Por dire vérité, ne sai se je foloy;
Mès se les escrocles ou li maus saint Eloy.
Y faisoient leurs niz, comme en leur franc aloy,
Elles se reliassent à l'ancienne loy.

A most interesting discussion of the disease (a variety of fistula) is found in *La Chirurgie de Maitre Henri de Mondeville* (Soc. des anc. textes fr.), vol. ii, pp. 160-162, §§ 1987-1990.

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REVIEWS

Littérature Espagnole. Par JAMES FITZMAURICE-KELLY, 2^e édition, refondue et augmentée. Paris, Armand Colin, 1913. Pp. xxii + 494.

Bibliographie de l'Histoire de la Littérature espagnole. Par JAMES FITZMAURICE-KELLY. Paris, Armand Colin, 1913. Pp. vii + 79.

Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra: A Memoir. By JAMES FITZMAURICE-KELLY, F.B.A., Gilmour Professor of Spanish in the University of Liverpool. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1913. Pp. xx + 228.

The Oxford Book of Spanish Verse, XIIIth Century-XIXth Century, Chosen by JAMES FITZMAURICE-KELLY, F.B.A., Gilmour Professor of Spanish in the University of Liverpool. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1913. Pp. xxxv + 460.

The history of the *Littérature Espagnole* is interesting and instructive, for it shows the author as a scholar broad enough and scientific enough to examine without prejudice every scrap of criticism that is presented to him; and despite the arduous academic duties with which he has meanwhile been burdened, persevering enough to keep abreast of the modern and somewhat plethoric output in the field of Spanish literature.

The work first appeared in 1898, and in English, and immediately met with a warm reception on both sides of the Atlantic. Here was a book with a raciness of style and a breadth of vision to which we were wholly unaccustomed in manuals of any kind, even of literature; and the author's profound knowledge of other literatures and his catholicity of taste made it possible for him to give in his history despite its brevity many a comparison that shed a white light on the international literary and cultural influence of Spanish literature.

Three years later (in mid-summer of 1901) appeared the Spanish version. The translator was that brilliant young scholar Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín, whose excellent knowledge of English was frequently put to the test (as he himself told us) by the aforesaid raciness of style. But the book in its Spanish garb was not a mere translation of the original English edition. The author insisted on revising every statement that had been successfully challenged by the critics or that subsequent investigations by himself or by others had shown to be unsound. It was this revised statement that Bonilla y San Martín then translated. Both the author and the translator made copious and properly signed annotations to the text. In addition to all these improvements, the Spanish version carried with it a forty-two page prologue by the lamented Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo that was one of the prettiest pieces of work ever produced even by that master mind. The bibliography in the Spanish version was considerably increased, but maintained the general form of the original: an unhandy running commentary, so to speak, arranged chapter by chapter at the end of the book.

The aforesaid prologue by Menéndez y Pelayo acknowledged that in a manual an author must naturally be allowed to decide what writers he will not include in his treatment, and then he goes on to make suggestions as to topics

that he would like to see included if Fitzmaurice-Kelly should decide to enlarge somewhat the scope of his manual in any subsequent edition. All the authors and works thus mentioned by Menéndez y Pelayo were carefully read by Fitzmaurice-Kelly and most of the suggestions were adopted in the French version that appeared in 1904, although the author's judgment concerning a given work or writer may not always agree with that of the great Spaniard. In this connection the present writer wishes to acknowledge that, in the light of certain facts which were all he then had to guide him, he misinterpreted the phrase "believing that any independent view is better than the mechanical repetition of authoritative verdicts" that appears in the preface to the original English edition. Subsequent information concerning Fitzmaurice-Kelly's method of study and procedure, as herein outlined, leaves no justification for the criticism formerly levelled at this particular phrase.

The French version had not the advantage of finding, as translator, a specialist; but the same method of procedure was followed as in the case of the Spanish version: the author revised his text in every point that he deemed necessary (not merely in those cases where he agreed with the suggestion of M. y P.), and this revised version was done into French under the immediate and final control of the author himself. The whole book was thus reworked. Some idea of the extent of the changes may be gathered from two facts. Ten solid pages have been introduced concerning the *romances*; and the Bibliography has been expanded from fourteen pages in the original to forty-seven of fine print, arranged under seven headings (I—Bibliographies, II—General Works, III—History of the Theatre, IV—Collections of Texts, V—Chrestomathies, VI—Books on the First Chapter, and VII—Editions and Studies), for each of which the materials are alphabetized.

Nine years passed, and despite his lecture tour in the United States in 1907 under the auspices of the Hispanic Society of America, followed by his lecture course at University College, London, in 1908, which resulted in giving us his delightful volume "Chapters on Spanish Literature"; despite his becoming Gilmour Professor of Spanish at the University of Liverpool, with all the academic duties inherent in such a position; and despite his many other publications, Fitzmaurice-Kelly has continued to labor upon this manual. The edition of the French version having been exhausted (I wonder why the English version has not long since been exhausted), he decided that he would rewrite the whole work himself and bring it up to date once more.¹ The present writer believes that even Frenchmen will consider Fitzmaurice-Kelly's French style a brilliant achievement.

The first chapter has been thoroughly reworked, too thoroughly in fact, so that in its present form it occupies ten pages as compared with its previous forty. While I realize that this curtailment makes possible more extended treatment for several topics later in the book, I none the less miss the material that has been dropped, and regret the elimination. The original chapter contained a general presentation of many phases of early Spanish cultural and literary conditions that are not often to be found so conveniently grouped. The *élan*, the

¹ The work appeared simultaneously in a revised Spanish version which has not yet come to my hands: *Historia de la literatura española*, Madrid, Imp. Clásica Española, 1913. 8°, xx + 579 pp.

genial tone and the broad sweep of the earlier treatment are lacking in this later, shortened presentation. Some of the points thus omitted here are completely lost to the book; and the treatment of the few others in later chapters does not entirely compensate for their omission at this point.

Chapter II, dealing with the anonymous period, has been likewise thoroughly reworked. Especially noteworthy is the new presentation of the whole problem of the epic, in which the results of all the recent studies have been carefully weighed and justly judged. It is to be noted, too, that the treatment of the *Crónica rimada* or *Cantar de Rodrigo* is postponed to the period that probably produced the only form in which we have the work. Nor should we overlook the new treatment accorded the four poems first published by the first Marqués de Pidal: *Disputa del Alma y el Cuerpo*, *Vida de Santa María Egipcíaca*, *Libro dels tres Reyes dorient*, and *Libro de Apollonio*, which are now presented chronologically, the first in the twelfth century and the other three at the beginning of the thirteenth. And their treatment is more ample and satisfying.

The space allotted to Berceo, the *Libro de Alijandre* and the *Poema de Fernán González* has been increased more than fifty per cent., and the treatment is very noticeably improved, but I miss in the passage on Berceo the references to Puymaigre and to John Hookham Frere. The former persisted through the first Spanish and the first French versions, the latter was suppressed in the first French version. These suppressions are regrettable, for not all Spanish scholars (nor even, in this case, all Berceo specialists) are likely to know all these little comparisons and references, which form one of the chief charms of every work produced by Professor Fitzmaurice-Kelly. As a compensation in just such matters, it is a pleasure to note that he has added two little touches in his treatment of Alfonso el Sabio: the quotation from Dante, and the reference to Bernat Descoll as possibly the real author of the saying attributed to Alfonso to the effect that "If God had consulted me, at the creation, He would have made the world very differently." The statement of the case for the complicated problems concerning the *Primera Crónica general* of Alfonso el Sabio is clear and concise. Reference is made to Mr. Paul Groussac's theory that Alfonso did not write the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*; and we are glad to welcome the new reference to Adelaide Procter's treatment, in her *Story of Provence*, of the legend of the statue and the ring, two beautiful variants of which are found in these same *Cantigas de Santa Maria*.

And so one might continue pointing out the improvements of this edition over all its predecessors. The account of Cervantes has been entirely rewritten, as we should expect from the author who publishes simultaneously a memoir on the *Life of Cervantes*. The same is true of Alarcón, Calderón, Lope de Vega, and Tirso de Molina; and in every case the account has been materially shortened. We are, to be sure, glad to have these passages revised in the light of every recent study that at all bears on them, but I am not entirely sure that I like these curtailed accounts as well as I should have liked revised accounts of the same length as the originals. Of course, I realize that to compensate these losses we have many new paragraphs treating subjects that had been either entirely omitted or less lengthily treated in the previous editions.

Perhaps the most notable of these are the generally more extended treatment given to the drama; the recasting of the last two chapters so as to make possible

the inclusion of the moderns who have attained to distinction since the appearance of the first edition; and the treatment accorded the complex problems of the *romances*, which were given a very brief handling in the editions of 1898 and 1901, materially enlarged in that of 1904, and now again rewritten and treated in still greater detail.

It has been my misfortune not to be able to see a copy of Foulché-Delbosc's *Essai sur les origines du Romancero*, referred to on page 134; and I was considerably surprised at some of the assertions that Foulché-Delbosc is reported as having attributed to Menéndez Pidal. I have in mind particularly the charge that Menéndez Pidal claims collective, rather than individual, authorship for the *romances*. At the time of their appearance I read carefully not only the *Épopée castillane* but also the *Romancero español*, which gives a somewhat more extended treatment of these problems; but I never understood Menéndez Pidal as making that claim. I have just re-read the chapters in question, and am still unable to draw that particular conclusion. I do understand Menéndez Pidal to claim that the people reciting the *romances* in successive generations made successive and radical alterations in the texts they recited and thus became part authors of the *romances* as we now have them; but it is a far cry from this claim of a collective and spontaneous activity spread over centuries to a claim of a collective and spontaneous authorship at a given moment. The champions arrayed on each side are expert in the use of their weapons, and we shall await with interest the outcome of their further engagements in the battle for the truth.

In closing let me express the hope that the author will some day give us a revised English version with all the improvements contained in this excellent revised French version, but not subjected to the curtailments he has felt obliged to effect in the book under review. I believe there is room for a volume of six hundred pages written in his style; and if we had it we could await with greater patience the appearance of the large history of Spanish literature upon which we know he has been at work for more than fifteen years.

In justice to the author's intention, the *Bibliographie de l'Histoire de la Littérature espagnole*, notwithstanding its enlargement and its appearance as a separate volume, must be considered as a supplement and necessary appendix to the work entitled *Littérature Espagnole*. But despite the author's modest claims for it, we must acknowledge that it is a very valuable aid to all workers in Spanish literature, even to the highly trained specialist, who will find here many an indication that had entirely escaped him in the first place or that, seen at the time the work in question appeared, had since slipped his mind. Cataloguers in university libraries, college libraries and public libraries will find it invaluable; and I should like to recommend earnestly that they consult it assiduously when deciding how to alphabet the complex and often perplexing names of Spanish authors. Furthermore, libraries of all three of the classes mentioned, where the field of Spanish literature may hitherto have been neglected, could do no better than use this bibliography as their first large order, buying every work here listed. Any library that made such a purchase would probably find itself the possessor of a better working library in Spanish literature than is at this moment possessed by any university in the country, although that statement is not necessarily high praise.

In making the following remarks and suggestions my purpose has not been merely to make additions. I have tried not to go beyond what I believe to have been the author's own plan, and the suggestions are made on the possibility of their having escaped even his assiduity. They are offered here in the hope that they may be of service to the public. Otherwise I should have sent them privately to the author.

Page 3. BULLETIN HISPANIQUE. Paraissant tous les trois mois. Bordeaux-Paris, depuis 1899. (En cours de publication.)

Page 4. CULTURA ESPAÑOLA. Revista trimestral (Antes Revista de Aragón). Madrid, 1906-1909.

Page 9. Biblioteca de "Archivo Extremeño." Badajoz, depuis 1910.

Page 9. Biblioteca Oropesa. Madrid, depuis 1905.

Page 16 [Aleman] lines 13-14. F. W. Chandler, *Romances of Roguery*, New York, 1899.

Page 23 [Caballero] line 2. L. Coloma, *Recuerdos de Fernán Caballero*, Bilbao, 1910.

Page 32 [Cota de Maguaque] line 26. A. Bonilla y San Martín, *Anales de literatura española*, Madrid, 1904, pp. 164-167; *Deux lettres de la Reine Isabelle*, in *Revue hispanique*, I (1894), 85-87.

Page 34 [Echegaray] line 40. A. Zacher, *Don José Echegaray, Der Verfasser des Galeoto*, Berlin, 1892; F. Vézinet, *Les maîtres du roman espagnol*, Paris, 1907, pp. 281-322; H. de Curson, *Un théâtre d'idées en Espagne: Le théâtre de José Echegaray: Etude analytique*, Paris, 1912.

Page 35 [Enzina] line 25. Several lyrics reprinted by M. Menéndez y Pelayo in *Antología de poetas líricos castellanos*, IV (1893), 135-205; his *Arte de poesía castellana* is reprinted (*id. ib.*), V (1894), 30-47; two églogas reprinted in Moratín, *Orígenes del Teatro Español* (Ochoa, *Tesoro del Teatro Español*, I), 134-138; several plays in Boehl de Faber, *Teatro Español anterior á Lope de Vega*, Hamburg, 1832, pp. 1-38.

Page 35 [Ercilla y Zúñiga] line 38. *L'Araucana: morceaux choisis, précédés d'une étude biographique, bibliographique et littéraire, suivis de notes grammaticales, et de versification, et de deux lexiques*, par Jean Ducamin, Paris, 1900.

Page 46 [Lazarillo de Tormes] line 15. Stahr, *Mendoza's Lazarillo de Tormes* in the *Deutsche Jahrbücher für Politik und Literatur*, Berlin, 1862; F. W. Chandler, *Romances of Roguery*, New York, 1899.

Page 70 [Teresa de Jesus] line 19. Miguel Mir, *Santa Teresa de Jesús, su vida, su espíritu, sus fundaciones*, 2 vols., Madrid, 1912; A. Morel-Fatio, *Nouvelles Etudes sur Sainte Thérèse*, in the *Journal des Savants, Nouvelle Série*, 9^e Année (1911), pp. 97-104.

Page 73 [Valera (Juan)] line 32. F. Vézinet, *Les maîtres du roman espagnol contemporain*, Paris, 1907, pp. 1-39.

Remarkably few misprints have been discovered; but the following are such as our German colleagues would call *störend*:

	INSTEAD OF	READ
Page 27, line 31.	<i>Ingratitud de Amor,</i>	<i>Ingratitud por Amor,</i>
Page 33, line 1.	XXV.	XXXV.
Page 34, line 7.	VIII,	VII,

Page 38, line 6.	LXII;	XLII;
Page 41, line 30.	lectures et ses initiateurs	lecteurs et ses imitateurs
Page 41, line 33.	XXIII,	XVIII,
Page 51, line 13.	CIV-CLI	LV-CHH

In writing the Preface to his *Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra: A Memoir*, Professor Fitzmaurice-Kelly has allowed his modesty to run away with his devotion to scholarly accuracy. His own genial *Life of Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra*, London, 1892, is not mentioned; although it is my impression that every other important item in the long list of Cervantes biographies is duly chronicled.

Again, on page ix, his modesty prevents his telling us that he himself was one of the two scholars who "successfully challenged" Pérez Pastor's theory "referring to a supposititious edition of *Don Quixote* ascribed to the year 1604"; yet he pays handsome tribute to the open-minded scholarship of Pérez Pastor, who in a subsequent volume, explicitly abandoned the aforesaid theory and furnished additional materials for its overthrow.

A few sentences from the Preface will amply explain the author's purpose in writing this new account of the life of Spain's greatest writer:

"In the present volume I have eschewed all such [referring to Navarro y Ledesma's fanciful *El Ingenioso Hidalgo Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra*] decorative devices, as I have eschewed literary criticism. . . . For the moment it seems to me important to continue Navarrete's work, to place on record all that is positively known of Cervantes's life, to sift the guesses from the facts, and to establish the facts by such evidence as might satisfy a legal tribunal. In the process of examining the evidence some picturesque legends must be discarded. . . .

" . . . My aim has been to give every known fact about Cervantes, suppressing nothing, extenuating nothing, unswayed as far as possible by the natural bias which we all have in favour of a great creative genius whose subtle charm has fascinated successive generations for three centuries. Against this inevitable prepossession I have been constantly on guard."

This purpose the author has successfully carried out; and he has given us a sane, sober, authoritative account of the known facts of Cervantes's life. Let no one be misled, however, by his solemn implication that the book is to have no literary merit. He even wrote the present writer, nearly a year before the book appeared, that he had made it as dull as a police report, which he had taken as his model. But Professor Fitzmaurice-Kelly trying to write a dull and uninteresting book is like an expert swordsman seeking a duel as a means of suicide: once he gets his weapon in hand no power on earth can prevent his exercising the skill of which he is master.

The book is thoroughly readable, and being so abundantly documented supercedes all previous biographies of Cervantes.

A reproduction of the latest alleged portrait of Cervantes serves as frontispiece; and there is a good note setting forth all aspects of the discussion concerning the authenticity thereof. There is also a convenient Genealogical Table.

The authorities of the Clarendon Press were certainly well inspired when

they confided the making of their *Oxford Book of Spanish Verse* to the care of James Fitzmaurice-Kelly, than whom there is no man in the English-speaking world better endowed or better prepared, for precisely this delicate task. His taste, his judgment, his knowledge of and sympathy with the psychology and character of the Spanish people and its literature have all been acknowledged by the greatest of all Spanish literary historians and critics, the lamented Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo:²

"... Fitzmaurice-Kelly no es un árido erudito, sino un fino y delicado literato, un hombre de gusto y de alma poética, que siente con viveza lo bello y lo original, y expresa con elegancia y hasta con calor su entusiasmo estético. ... Irlandés y de origen católico el Sr. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, se muestra exento de la mayor parte de las preocupaciones inglesas, mas duras y tenaces que las de ningún pueblo, y comprende y estima el carácter peculiar de nuestra civilización aun en aquello que es antítesis viva del pensamiento y del carácter inglés."

Under such circumstances it would seem as though, within the narrow limits imposed upon Fitzmaurice-Kelly by the size of the volume to be produced, the selections made by him might reasonably be expected to meet with the approval even of the native experts in such matters. At any rate we may feel confident that nothing unworthy has been included (however much of merit may have been omitted), and that this volume will prove to be a worthy companion to its distinguished predecessors in the series.

An Introduction of twenty-nine pages, written in Fitzmaurice-Kelly's happiest vein, outlines the various lyric movements that are represented in the volume. The question of the *romances* naturally recurs and the author seems to have taken a more conservative attitude towards the respective theories of Foulché-Delbosc and Menéndez Pidal. It is a pleasure also to see, both in the Introduction and in the text, his recognition of the fact that the old *romances* should be printed as they were composed, in the sixteen-syllable, two-hemistich verse, and that the later, artistic *romances* should be printed in the eight-syllable verse, with the assonance in the even verses.

The twenty-seven pages of notes are models of succinct, helpful biographical and bibliographical information. The use of the book is facilitated by an Index of Writers and an Index of First Lines. A Subject Index or Personage Index would be a distinct additional advantage. In both the indices that have been supplied reference to the poems is made by number. As many of the poems cover several pages and the number appears only at the beginning thereof, there is some difficulty in turning directly to the poem sought. A repetition of the numbers on the inner, upper corner of the pages would remedy the matter.

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² *Historia de la literatura española*, por Jaime Fitzmaurice-Kelly, traducida por Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín, Madrid, 1901, pp. xx-xxi.

NOTES AND NEWS

At the annual meeting of the Modern Language Association, held at Columbia University, the following officers were elected: President, Jefferson B. Fletcher; Vice- Presidents, Oliver F. Emerson, Bert J. Vos, Mary V. Young.

In the postal-card vote of the members of the Modern Language Association as to the desirability of employing reformed spelling in the official publications of the society, a majority favored employing some form of simplified spelling.

During the past summer a party of twelve university men made a tour of the principal capitals of South America, as the guests of the American Association for International Conciliation. Among them were the following linguists: Percy Bentley Burnet, head of the foreign language department of the Manual Training High School, Kansas City, Missouri; John D. Fitz-Gerald, of the Romance Department of the University of Illinois; Reginald R. Goodell, head of the Romance Department of Simmons College; and Frederick B. Luquiens, Professor of Spanish, Sheffield Scientific School, Yale University.



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